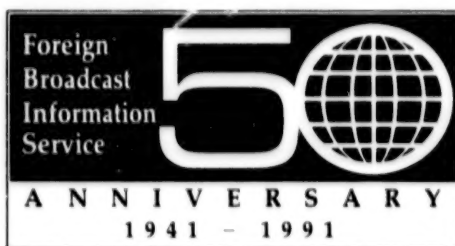


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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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International Affairs

Attacks Continue on U.S. New World Order

'Jew World Order'

91AS1558A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 24 Aug 91
pp 7, 8

[News Report: "New World Order is Jew World Order Aimed Against Pakistan"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore (PR)—Dr. Israr Ahmed, leader of the Tanzim-i Islami, addressed a gathering at the Daral-salam Garden mosque before worship on the topic of "the future of the Muslim world" on Tuesday. He said that the Arab countries are suffering because they had rebelled against Allah's teaching and rebelled against the Islamic system. They are being punished because they had adopted the West's culture, education, political system, and economy. This will lead to their total destruction. He said that of the whole Arab world, Iraq was the only country that, because of its nuclear capability, could confront Israel. However, because the friendship between the United States and Kuwait, and because of the ignorance of Kuwait's Emir and Saddam Husayn, both fell prey to the Jewish and American conspiracy. He said that after the destruction of Iraq, the whole Arab world has been caught in the grip of the new world order. Meanwhile, a superpower like the United States is being controlled by the Jews, who have so much control over the American cities that even Americans call New York "Jew York." Their first target is Arab countries, and their second is Pakistan. After the destruction of Iraq, Pakistan remains the only Islamic nation in the world that has nuclear capabilities, and the Jews want to destroy it. He said that even though Pakistan's nuclear program is still in its infancy, but that the infant's "milk teeth" are "atomic teeth" that they wish to break.

Dr. Israr Ahmed said that Pakistan was established after innumerable sacrifices in the name of Allah. However, because of our embarrassing attitude toward *shari'ah* rule, we do not see the existence of "Allah's ways" in Pakistan's political or economic system. He added that the system of charging interest and landlordship at the government level, and a capitalistic system in the name of the *shari'ah* act has made us totally against Allah and the Islamic system. We have rebelled from the Islamic way, which will lead us to our total destruction. The Tanzim-i Islami leader referred to the traditions of the Prophet and said that "Islam will rule the whole world." However, the supremacy of Islam is possible only if a pure Islamic rule is established in one country or region. He said that Pakistan has a special place in the Islamic world, and it would be no surprise if the Islamic form of government started in Pakistan and spread all over the world. Even though the ship of Pakistan is stuck in a whirlpool now, a few brave and willing martyrs challenging the economy based on interest and the landlord system can not only end the "atrocious rule," but also

help establish a true Islamic rule. This will result in a welfare Islamic state with Islamic justice and rules appropriately implemented. Welcoming the prime minister's efforts to establish a friendly relationship with India while having friendly talks, he said that the governments of both countries should recognize their common enemies and work to destroy their evil designs to burn this region in the oven of war.

JI Leader: U.S. Satanic Power

91AS1558B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 20 Aug 91 p 5

[Article by Qazi Hussein Ahmed: "Insight of a Freedom Fighter"; quotation marks as published]

[Excerpts] Communism has fallen now, and the United States has become very cocky about its status as a supreme power. President Bush has said that he will establish a "new world order." [passages omitted]

Now that communists and communism have been totally vanquished, the greatest danger to us is from the United States and its culture. This endangers the whole Islamic world. It is important to analyze the foreign situation thoroughly. Therefore I insist that we make our plans with the changing times. We are now helpless in front of the U.S. campaign. The first and most important task is to oppose the American culture and form of government. If the Muslims and Islamic organizations do not follow these changes carefully, then the whole Islamic world will be trapped within the U.S. conspiracy. The United States is the biggest imperialist of this era, and it is a major and satanic power. It is a great danger to Islam and the Muslim world.

Italy is an important member of NATO. We asked Italy's foreign minister, now that the Warsaw Pact countries have been defeated, Eastern European countries are joining Western nations, communism has ended, East Germany has merged into West Germany, and Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia have become democratic, what will NATO control since there is no Warsaw Pact to confront? Italy's foreign minister said that Muslim nations and Islamic movements have become dangerous to them, and that they cannot ignore this danger. (NEWSWEEK)

Similarly, TIME magazine published another report. When asked who the \$300 billion defense budget was against, the answer was that communism was a major danger that has ended now. However, after the defeat of communism, one would think there is no more danger. But Islamic countries and their Islamic movements are the new danger. Therefore, we must be prepared for future danger. (TIME, 23 January 1989)

These days, Western literature is filled with such analyses. Western intellectuals are saying in these articles that there is a danger of Islamic campaigns, and they must be stopped. They are alerting themselves in advance. [passage omitted]

The Western nations are afraid of the Muslim youth. This is why the United States has stopped all kinds of aid to us. However, it never stops aid to family planning programs. The ever-increasing Muslim population has become a danger to them. Their society is losing their youth, and they do not have the resources for a long war. Fighting a war while sitting in a bunker filled with the latest technology is one thing, but if the whole Islamic world raised its arm the way it did in Afghanistan to stop the Soviet Union, the United States would not be able to stop us. The Western nations are scared of the Muslim zeal and the large number of young Muslim people. That is why it is planning to destroy Islamic countries and Islamic campaigns. The U.S. president, Mr. Bush, has repeatedly referred to a "new world order" in his speeches. What is the new world order? We must try to understand it. Every member of the Islamic movement who favors the spread of Allah's name and whose purpose is to raise Allah's flag must be fully aware of what is happening in the world. He should know the dangers of the world, and should know who is our friend and who is our enemy. If one does not look at the future in the light of the present developments, then one will not be fully prepared. Times are changing very fast. The new world that Mr. Bush speaks of is simply the U.S. plan to control the whole world through the United Nations. What is the American system of government? One can make a good assumption about it by watching television, which shows its culture. A few days ago, I received a letter by fax that said that a combined prayer should be said on a specific day for world peace. Jews, Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims will pray in their own way. The letter asked me if we wanted to join this prayer. If so, I was to send our names to them. They were trying to take a survey of those named in the letter. There was the name of the Secretary General of the Islamic Party. Actually, this is an effort to start a new kind of "secular religion" under this new world order. It is an effort to put all Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, and Jews together, and a conspiracy to make Muslims become non-Muslims.

As if there were no differences between the religions, and all religions are right! The United Nations is also trying to spread this concept that all religions worship the same God, and pray in their own way. A cartoon was published in this context. It shows a cross hanging from Mr. Bush's neck as he is praying. Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, and Shah Fahd are standing behind him and worshipping in their own way. This is not just imagination, but a plan for a secular world system. They are trying to spread this system internationally. God forbid if this secularism is spread, because no one will be able to get out of it. If this new world order is established, then there will be no Islamic revolution in Afghanistan. Iran and Pakistan will also be unable to escape it. Any country that is part of such a system, it would have a separate border, like Islamic countries the way they are now. But there used to be a caliphate from Marrakesh to Turkey, and our aim is to gather the whole world under the flag of the Islamic religion. After all, Islam is the only

way for human welfare. This is God's way, and it will help human beings to unite. The division was caused by the British, which is a recent historical fact. They divided the Islamic world to weaken the Muslims and keep them tied within various borders. These countries are being ruled by people who support Western culture and philosophy. The British bosses use these rulers as pawns. They do not allow these rulers to grant any benefits to the Muslims, because these rulers are helping implement new plans in order to make their Western bosses happy. The hue and cry raised against Islamic nations in the West is being supported by the United Nations. They are stating very loudly that cutting a thief's hand is a great travesty. Is it not an atrocity to drop bombs weighing 80,000 tons over Iraq's city of Basra? The Soviet Union used to drop bombs shaped like toys over Afghanistan. Innocent children wishing to play with these would be blown up. Was this not an atrocity? Massacring innocent children and old people is not considered a travesty in their book. However, cutting the hand of a thief is considered a great travesty, and is considered to be against human rights. In addition, Western propaganda portrays women in the Islamic culture as being only half human compared to men. They are trying to show that our laws oppose the equal rights for men and woman and are against the U.N. charter. Thus, the United States and Western nations are trying to establish a new secularism in the world with the help of the United Nations, except the United States is using prejudiced law, economy, and military forces to increase its supremacy and is calling it the "new world order," which it wants to implement worldwide. [passage omitted]

Our confrontation in the future will be with the United States. We will work according to the plan and its teachings, and the door for us to work in the United States, Europe, the Gulf nations, and Saudi Arabia will become open. The time of dictators and kings has ended. Here I want to make it clear that not even once did I call Saddam Husayn a hero. People who call him that are trying to start strife within the Jamaat-i Islami. It is also totally incorrect that we are joining the bandwagon. When the people were silent at that time, I was meeting the leaders in Jordan, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. The people learned about the facts much later. I have always guided the people.

The situation has changed. Tell me, is Kuwait free now? Iraq has left it, but is not Bush ruling there instead of Saddam Husayn? The U.S. Army has established a martial law regime in Kuwait. Kuwait was not liberated. Iraq is not liberated. Syria and Egypt are not liberated. No one in the Islamic world has been liberated. We need Islamic campaigns to liberate them. By the grace of Allah, a new Muslim world will be established. The United States cannot do anything to us. Our war will be a long one. It did not end with the defeat of Iraq and Saddam Husayn. The world's Islamic movements have decided that they will demand from the nations where we have Islamic dictatorships or monarchies that they reinstate the peoples' basic human rights. They should

give the people the right to express their opinions and the right to gather. If these rights are not granted to these people, then imperialistic conspiracies will be successful.

We have never agreed that Iraq should control Kuwait and loot it. At that time, I had told Saddam Husayn that he was not right. Even though Saddam Husayn replied that he had sentenced three persons to death by hanging for looting, I still had condemned him. I cannot permit any dictator to invade another country. It is the task of the Islamic movement to rise in Kuwait, in Arabic countries, in Saudi Arabia, and in Pakistan. It should rise in all countries and demand the rights of the people. After a *shari'ah* form of government is established and Islamic movements are successful, then the Islamic world will unite by itself. This is the path we have selected. We are going to advance on this path, following the appropriate strategy, with the people supporting us. We have never given up our right method, and have always worked according to Majlis-i Shura and Majlis-i Amila decisions. We must take all the members of the JI [Jamaat-i Islami] in full confidence whenever we form a policy as demanded by circumstance. Our greatest strength is our unity and our oneness.

Muslims Must Be Independent

91AS1558C Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 18 Aug 91
p 10

[Editorial: "Warning to Pakistan and Islamic Countries"]

[Text] Mr. Bill Dorsey and Hugh Steven, the two leading members of the international tribunal investigating U.S. war crimes, talked to some journalists in Lahore about the U.S. role in the Gulf war and its results and effects on the Third World countries, especially Islamic countries. They revealed some startling facts and dangers, which should give the world an idea of how Pakistan and the Muslim world would be in great danger within this new world order. These intellectuals, who keep an eye on human rights violations worldwide, have indicated clearly what is wrong. They have also indicated that Pakistan might be the next target. Anti-Pakistan propaganda has started, and the Islamic world is being criticized. All the actions aimed against the BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] are also the results of the Western world's anger. They did not like such a large bank in the control of the Third World.

The atrocities committed by the U.S. in the Gulf war are not hidden from anyone. It was clear from the beginning that the independence of Kuwait was just an excuse, and the real purpose of the United States was to establish its supremacy over the oil wells in Saudi Arabia, and to destroy Iraq's military and economic strength because it was endangering Israeli and American interests. Some Pakistani intellectuals have also spoken about the danger and said that the next targets of the United States are Pakistan, Iran, and the PRC. The amazing international success of the BCCI was intolerable to U.S., European,

and Jewish bankers. The Jewish investors could not bear anyone challenging their monopoly in international monetary affairs. The BCCI's greatest crime was that it belonged to Muslims.

Against this background, Pakistanis and the entire Muslim world should think carefully and give up their dependence on the United States and other Western powers. They should consider self-reliance as the only path to their independence and existence. They should establish exemplary unity among themselves. The internal strife present in Pakistan does not behoove any nation. Our country is the target of the conspiracies of such powers as India, the United States, and Israel, and the efforts made to inject political agitation in our country could be fatal to our nation's democracy and cultural development. It is the duty of the whole Islamic world to make the Islamic Conference more united and active to meet the present problems.

Need To Oppose U.S. Gangsters

91AS1558D Karachi JANG in Urdu 22 Aug 91 pp 1, 11

[News Report: "Muslims Must Free Humanity From U.S. Satanism"]

[Text] Peshawar (JANG Correspondent)—Qazi Hussein Ahmed, president of Jamaat-i Islami, said that our youth are the invaluable investment of the Islamic world. If they are put on the proper path, then all the enemies of Islam in the world would be destroyed. He said that the Pasban program is against the police, bureaucracy, merciless investors, landlords, and politicians. It is a welcome development that a nonpolitical group has included in it youth from the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], the ANP [Awami National Party], the Muslim League, Jamiat-i Ulema-i Islam, Jamaat-i Islami, and some other parties. Qazi Hussein Ahmed said that there was no doubt that prostitution houses could not be run without the help of the police and the bureaucracy. People fed up with these unfortunate circumstances go to complain to politicians. However, these politicians are criminals themselves, and reach the legislative assemblies with the help of criminals. Thus, they do not take any action. He said that instead of approaching the law enforcement agencies or politicians, the people should unite and forget their political, religious, and regional prejudices. Then they will be able to put an end to all atrocities and extortions. He addressed public meetings in various areas of Sawat. He said that the house of communism is going to be razed for good. Gorbachev was illegally removed in the Soviet Union, and an emergency was declared there. This was destructive to the Soviet Union, which has been economically devastated because of communism. The Soviet leadership should join the Afghan mujahiddin and confront the United States of America. The Soviet Union should improve its relationship with Islamic countries. Qazi Hussein Ahmed said that after the fall of communism in the Soviet Union, U.S. mischief has become a challenge for Muslims. We have accepted this challenge. God

willing, in 10 years, the United States will be embarrassed like the Soviet Union, and will leave all Islamic countries. Qazi Hussein Ahmed asked the Muslims to unite and help protect humanity from U.S. mischiefs. He thanked the Pasban youth and gave them the opportunity to address the youth in Sawat. Mohammed Amin, President of Pasban of Maingora, said in his address that their campaign was not associated with any political parties. He said that they wanted to start a reform movement for which they had the cooperation of all parties and organizations.

'New Order' Must Be Opposed

91AS1558E Karachi JANG in Urdu 24 Aug 91 p 3

[News Report: "We Oppose U.S. New World Order—Naqvi"]

[Text] Karachi (Staff Reporter)—Ilama Sayyed Sajid Ali Naqvi, president of Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-Jafariya, demanded that the assassins of Ilama Aarif Hussein al-Husseini be apprehended without any delay or procrastination. State President Ilama Mohammed Riza Najfi, Vice President Muzaffar Abbas Shamani, General Secretary Sayyed Mizmal Rizvi, and Press Secretary Dr. Ali Mohammed Rizvi were also present at this meeting. All of them paid tribute to Ilama Aarif, the martyr. They said that he had awakened the people and worked to fight against the atrocities being committed against them. He had sent a universal message to the nation. It said that he was the leader of the movement, and had tried to gather people of various philosophies on one platform. He said that because of the crimes in our society, our administration is not changing. Only the faces have changed. He knew that if Muslims gathered on one platform, they would not have to look up to anyone. He had made the unity of the Muslims his holy cause. He said that we have the same problem that he was facing himself. We support all movements for independence that are happening around the world. He criticized the U.S. new world order and said that the purpose of this order is to destroy Muslims, and that he did not accept this world order. It is unfortunate that most countries have recognized Israel, an open enemy of Muslims. He criticized the atrocities being committed by the Indian animals on the Kashmiri people. He expressed concern that the present government was not doing anything about it. He criticized the *shari'ah* bill for being "anything but *shari'ah*." He said that mourning is our legal and religious right. Ilama Sajid Ali Naqvi said a huge meeting would be held at Minar-i Pakistan in Lahore to observe the death anniversary of Ilama Aarif. In this meeting, future plans will be decided. Meanwhile, in an interview with the PPI [Pakistan Press International], Ilama Sajid Ali Naqvi warned the government that if it did not take strong action against the assassins of Ilama Aarif Hussein al-Husseini, then their party would boycott all activities. He said that a final decision on this would be made after the 30 September rally in Lahore. Strategy on how to pressure the government to accept the party's demands will also be planned.

U.S. Plans Country's Destruction

91AS1558F Karachi JANG in Urdu 24 Aug 91 p 3

[Article by Agha Masood Hussein: "Direct Talks With India"]

[Text] Tension between India and Pakistan is at its peak now, even though both claim that there is no warlike atmosphere in either country, and that there is no possibility of war between them. However, the way the situation is slowly changing indicates that there could be an armed confrontation between these two countries at any time. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif must have this feeling, too. That is why he telephoned Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and emphasized the importance of normalizing relations between the two countries. The Indian Prime Minister agrees with Nawaz Sharif, and he knows well that a war between India and Pakistan would hurt both countries. Pakistan has a debt of over 900 billion rupees, while India owes \$71 billion. An indication of India's deteriorating economy is that its rupee is worth less than a Pakistani rupee. There is a near-famine condition in Rajasthan. If it does not rain there soon, the situation will become even worse. According to economists, there is 14-percent inflation [rate] there, which is the highest in this region.

The biggest problem between India and Pakistan is Kashmir. The Indian leaders believe that Pakistan is behind the independence movement in the valley. Actually, the present campaign in Kashmir is a wholly internal affair, as the people there are making sacrifices for freedom. India has sent 300,000 soldiers to occupied Kashmir. These soldiers are treating the local residents brutally. They are killing innocent men and women. Not even one political leader in occupied Kashmir is in a position to push this movement back. The situation is worsening every day. The Indian Army is fighting a limited war in the valley. Both sides are suffering heavy losses. This war is not going to stop. If India and Pakistan do not have direct talks to resolve this issue, then it is possible that this limited war will expand and spread to both countries. In addition to the Kashmir problem, there is the problem of fear and mistrust between the two countries. Half of their budget is spent on acquiring and manufacturing weapons. The time has come for India and Pakistan to realize the fact that the race for weapons will be useless. A new demand is being made now. Instead of working on weapons of war, work should be done on raising the standard of living. Once India and Pakistan give up their mutual fears, then both countries can agree on becoming friends, and come closer to each other. In such an atmosphere, all litigious issues can be discussed, and both sides can reach agreements. This way, both countries would live peacefully as good neighbors.

Mr. Robert Oakley, Ambassador to Pakistan until recently, said in Lahore that India is ready to attack Pakistan. He had showed us what the U.S. wants in this region. It is obvious that India and Pakistan will destroy

each other in an armed confrontation. At that time the champion of world order will arrive there with the dove of peace to separate the two countries. I had written in another article, "the United States wants India and Pakistan to fight so that Pakistan is put in a similar situation as Iraq. China would be taken care of after that, so that the new world order would be spread throughout southeast Asia." Can the present Indian leadership not understand this conspiracy? Does it want to fight Pakistan at the behest of the United States of America? If India wants this, then it should be ready to destroy itself. Pakistan fell prey to a conspiracy between Hindu India and Jewish Israel in 1971. It will be different now. What will happen now is (as the poet said), "I am drowning, beloved, but I am going to take you down with me."

'New World Order' Imperialistic, 'Anti-Islamic'

92AS0002G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
19 Sep 91 p 7

[Article by Zahid Ahmad Khan: "New World Order and the World of Islam"]

[Text] The 'new world order' is beginning to take ominous dimensions for the world of Islam. The defeat of Iraq has emboldened the all powerful Western world to throttle the Islamic world with every guile up its sleeve. Further aggravating the situation for the Muslims, is the demise of Communism in Russia and in its satellite states, which has removed the basic impediment in the way of undisguised USA's megalomaniacal desire to dominate the world economically, politically and socially. The defeat of Iraq has taught us the bitter lesson that the only superpower of the world namely USA will not allow any other non-capitalist bloc, be it Communist or Muslim to stand in its way.

The only bloc, if indeed it is a bloc at all in any sense, is the Islamic bloc—which unfortunately is still an inchoate phenomenon despite all periodic pious words by the Muslim leaders. This is a very sorry state of affairs for the Muslims. Whereas there was a strong esprit de corps amongst the Muslims of subjugated Islamic countries under the colonial rule in the not too distant past, now that they are independent, the hold of nationalism on them, pure and simple, has overridden other Islamic considerations. Their response to the sufferings of the Muslims in other parts of the world is tepid and sometimes totally indifferent. The Communists had their Warsaw Pact. The Christians have their NATO alliance. Only the Muslims were and are bereft of any tangible alliance. OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] and GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] are merely paper organisations.

Crusades

Quite paradoxically, for the majority of the Muslims the world over, this idea of Islamic Ummah may not attract their obeisant attention but for the Western world, it has always been there ever since the Crusades of 10th

Century A.D. as a bugbear. The dismemberment of Turkey and the abolition of Khalifat in Turkey was meant to shear the Islamic world of any rallying point and ever since then, the Islamic world is groping in the dark to find a pivot.

The defeat of Iraq is basically the defeat of the Islamic world, which was led willy nilly by the USA into the Gulf War, and which instead of benefiting them, made Israel their arch enemy the only predominant state in the region. The liberation of Kuwait was only an ancillary motive.

The 'new world order' is essentially Christian. The Western world professes secularism but in reality the spirit of the Crusades is still rampant in its mind. Is the 'new world order' another critical phase of that ignominious crusades (from the Christian point of view), which lasted intermittently for more than three centuries? If this contention is true, then the gullible and enfeebled Islamic world is really in big trouble; for unlike those times when the Christian world was reeling from acute internal dissensions, the present Christian world is getting monolithic with USA as its alderman. The reverse is true for the dilapidated Muslim world. The Islamic world is a house of cards divided against itself.

Wars

With the exception of the Falklands War (1983), there has been no war in the Western world after the Second World War. Contrarily, there have been numerous battles and wars amongst the Muslim countries, which has depleted their resources and dampened their already sagging spirits. There is hardly any unanimity of thought and action in their perception of the Western world and its machinations to control them. The Gulf war instead of uniting them has further cleaved them into opposing camps. The Afghan imbroglio is assuming intra-factional proportions. It is as divisive as it was when it fired the first salvo against the Russians and their Afghan puppets. There is stalemate on the Palestinian issue and the Kashmir problem.

The geographical changes that are taking place in the world of today are through and through in favour of the new imperialism. The Baltic States which have now proclaimed their independence will definitely enter the mainstream of the Western way of government and life, with its strong anti-Islamic credentials. Even as the Muslim Central Asian Republics are following suit, Russia may not accord the same status to them in the new formed confederation of Russian republics. In fact, the danger to Russia's geographical and political stability now stems from the Central Asian Muslim Republics. That's the reason why the Western world is downplaying the aspirations of these Muslim Republics.

Another facet of this new imperialism is the cultural invasion of Muslim countries. Western imperialism has always followed closely behind cultural bridgeheads often built by its missionaries, be they in the religious field or in the socio-cultural fields. The soupy culture

that the West is trying to implant in Islamic countries through their godless literature and audio-visual advertisements has now reached its acme. No Muslim youth in the world is today immune from the deleterious effects of this godless literature.

Response

What should be the response of the Islamic world to this 'new world order'? No Islamic country is in a position to oppose the onslaughts of this new phase of naked imperialism single-handedly. If worldwide Islamic unity is not possible, then some sort of regional arrangements should be made by regional Islamic countries to at least show their willingness to exercise their own deterrence. The all-round close cooperation that is blossoming between Iran and Pakistan is a good example worth emulating by other Muslim countries. This ever pulling cooperation between Iran and Pakistan in every walk of life will in time be a strong self-sufficient mechanism to stave off any proxy adventurist in the region. For the 'new world order' will not necessarily nakedly pursue its worldwide designs. Most probably surrogates with strong 'anti-Islamic' credentials may be used towards this end, such as India and Israel.

The realisation of Islamic democracy in Islamic countries is the most appropriate answer to Western imperialism. Why OIC and GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) floundered in their first crucial test (Gulf War) was due in large measure to the prevalence of fragile individual rule in most of the Islamic countries. The Islamic governments would do well to recognise the inalienable rights of their people and grant them their basic rights. The first defence against any kind of aggression is built up in the mind.

Alliances

For the Muslim countries, it is desirable that they now forge alliances with those powers who do not see eye to eye with the USA and its international policies. Russia is in no position to counter the 'new world order'. In fact, it is the first major victim of this 'new world order'. China, a superpower in its own right, has the potential and the necessary will to counter this 'new world order' with confidence. The strong Chinese factor should be given an honest opportunity by the Muslim countries to buttress their might. The close cooperation between China and Pakistan has stood the test of time and has again proved that it is durable and dependable. It should be further cemented.

But in the ultimate analysis, the Muslims will have to fend for themselves with all their might and main. Unity, however, is unachievable in the absence of a leader. Pakistan has always tried to be conciliatory and accommodating with unfriendly and sometimes antagonistic Muslim countries. It is the citadel of Islam. Hence, in any move by the Muslim countries towards some kind of a political unity amongst themselves what should be kept in mind is the role Pakistan has played in furthering the

cause of the Islamic world. Militarily it is the strongest Muslim country of the world. But, by the same token, the dangers to its security are also manifold. It is in the long term interests of the Muslim countries to help Pakistan stand on its feet economically and militarily.

New World Order Termed 'U.S. Conspiracy'

92AS0134D Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 27 Sep 91 p 8

[Article by Haider Nizamani: "New World Order Termed U.S. Conspiracy"]

[Text] Islamabad—Experts belonging to different professions unanimously condemned the anti-Islam designs of the United States under the cover of the 'New World Order'.

Retired militarymen, former ministers, prominent journalists and politicians of some smaller parties vowed to defend the sovereignty of Pakistan, which is being endangered by the United States.

Participants of the seminar titled, "Pakistan: Challenges and Responsibilities" called for a genuine self-reliance in the field of defence, production and other key industries and condemned mainstream politicians for being corrupt, inefficient and exploiters.

The seminar was arranged by a former minister and covenor of Islamic Revivalist Movement, Mian Attaullah.

Different speakers were assigned the topics of their specialisation but hardly anyone followed it.

In the invitation, names of few official functionaries were provided but none of them came in person to address the seminar. Among the government officials, who did not attend the seminar and sent their regrets were, Dr A.Q. Khan, famous nuclear scientist, Shahryar Khan, foreign secretary and Tariq Mustafa, secretary ministry of production. Shahryar Khan sent a written outline of his article while the remaining sent formal regrets.

Mian Attaullah discussed at length the problems faced by Pakistan and the Muslim Ummah and held moral degeneration responsible for the present chaos of the Islamic Ummah. He called for changes in the structure of United Nations in the light of changing realities of the world. Converting the present General Assembly into world parliament was one of the suggestions put forward by him. Call for shifting the UN headquarters from New York to Switzerland formed the other pillar of the proposal. However, he did not talk about the agency that would bring about these structural changes in the United Nations.

Addressing the seminar, former minister of foreign affairs Agha Shahi said that US President George Bush would seek New World Order by imposing unipolarity in the world. In the new system, he said, the Non-Aligned

Movement has lost its rationale. He said that American leaders project the New World Order as an effort to seek peaceful solutions of problems, nuclear non-proliferation, respect for human rights, fighting drug menace and preserving the environment.

He said that Iraq had been made victim of a disproportionate destruction, he opined that it would be illusory to expect from Washington to show restraint in unilateral military actions which remained a feature of US policy in the past. He regretted that Washington was supplying anti-ballistic missiles to Israel but pressurising China not to supply M-9 missiles to Pakistan and Syria which had been US allies in the Gulf crisis.

He, however, observed that Pakistan should not hesitate to sign a treaty banning chemical weapons if India signs it. He said that the Central Asian republics are certain to have an Islamic revivalist movement. Pakistan, he said, can go ahead like India in establishing trade relations with the southern Soviet republics.

Talking about the Third World countries, he said they were never so constrained in adopting their own models of development India and Pakistan will improve, especially after signing of an accord not to attack on each other's nuclear installations. Military successes in Afghanistan without a decisive blow to the Kabul regime will not transform the political situation, he said. Attitude of the Muslim republics in Central Asia would depend upon how amicably the Afghan issue is solved, he said. Lt. Gen. (Retd) Ejaz Azim, former ambassador to the United States, dwelled upon the issue of 'self-reliance and defence policy' in a diplomatic-cum-scholarly manner. New realities on the global level were seen as the main reason behind this situation by Gen. Azim.

Despite depicting a gloomy picture of Indian political scene, he was of the view that India is not going to fall apart in the near future because 'it has learnt to live with chaos'. He also ruled out possibility of any war between India and Pakistan.

Talking about the future of technology transfer and military production, he observed that the Western aid will not be forthcoming and Pakistan will have to foster special ties with countries like China and Iran.

Ahmad Raza Kasuri, leader of Pakistan Inqalabi Party, in an emotional speech, called for emergence of another Quaid-i-Azam to save the country from disaster. His main targets were nationalisms based on language, race and province. He said that, Islamic ideology should be emphasised at any cost. For him no politician of the country was honest and demanded that new leadership should take charge of affairs of the country. Although he was supposed to talk on the 'illiteracy' but his main topic was grand designs of the United States which included among other things, a long term strategy to dismember Pakistan and create an independent Kashmir. To substantiate his point, he referred to a thesis by an American scholar on the 'Unionist Party' as a link of that chain.

Kasuri paid glowing tributes to the armed forces of the country and said that it was the only institution which can hold the country together.

Mushahid Hussain, prominent journalist again spoke for a new regionalism among the countries of West Asia with Pakistan, Turkey, Iran and Central Asian Muslim republics as the key players.

He said that hopefully Turkish efforts to join European Community will fail by next year and the country will return to its Islamic identity.

Agha Murtaza Pooya, leader of Hizbe Jihad, termed the United States as 'bankrupt bandit' and called upon the Islamic Ummah to resist pressure by the Americans.

U.S. Said To Favor Indian Attack

92AS0011F Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 14 Sep 91
pp 1, 5

[News Report: "U.S. Signaled India to Destroy Kahuta Plant"]

[Text] London (Report by Faruq Qareshi)—The United States of America has given the green light to India to destroy the Kahuta plant in Pakistan. The Indian Government could attack it at any time by breaking many border agreements. It was also learned that the Indian Government is keeping us busy in skirmishes around the Punch sector, using it as an excuse to attack Kahuta from the direction of occupied Kashmir. Pakistan has requested Iran and Saudi Arabia to provide help in this context. Military experts from these countries have visited Pakistan in secret and compiled reports for their governments. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has telephoned Indian Prime Minister Narsimha Rao and has offered to give documentary proof of border skirmishes. He told the Indian Government that in spite of these skirmishes, he expected the situation to improve. It should be remembered that during the last week's battles, in which heavy artillery was used, dozens of troops from both sides were killed or injured. An emergency meeting was held between the senior officers of the three divisions of the armed forces at the GHQ. They discussed ways and means to improve the situation in the Punch sector.

U.S. Said Selective on UN Resolutions

92AS0040E Karachi DAWN in English 24 Sep 91 p 7

[Article by Fazal Imam: "The Core Issue Is Free Vote"]

[Text] A senior diplomat attached to the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, is reported to have made certain bewildering, baffling remarks about Kashmir and Israeli nuclear programme. If the report is correct, (no contradiction or clarification has been issued by the U.S. Embassy) these observations reflect regrettable obfuscation of issues or deliberate deviation from truth. The

learned diplomat is reported to have asserted: (a) "Kashmir issue has NO concern" with the United States. It is a dispute between India and Pakistan; (b) Israel's nuclear programme is justified, because "it is encircled by enemies."

First Kashmir. The basic, and the only, issue in that disputed territory is the people's right of self-determination. Pakistan and India come in only because Kashmiris' inalienable right to a free choice, (whether they like to be a part of Pakistan or India), was an integral part of the package of new nationhood of the two countries with the departure of the British power in 1947. It was also an important part of this package that contiguous areas having Muslim-majority or Hindu-majority populations should go to Pakistan or India respectively.

India blatantly flouted this spirit of the new nationhood by cleverly staging the "accession" of Kashmir by Maharaja Sir Hari Singh against the wishes and aspirations of the population, which was 77.1 percent Muslim.

This led to Kashmiri revolt and the first war between the two countries over this issue. The Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, took the case to the UN Security Council in January, 1948. He did so under Article 35 of the UN Charter, which provides that a member-state can bring to the attention of the Security Council or the General Assembly any situation which it considers likely to lead to international friction.

In numerous telegrams to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Pandit Nehru unequivocally pledged himself and his country "to leave the decision regarding the future of the state to the people of the state" and that this was a pledge "not only to the people of Kashmir but also to the international community."

The Security Council in its two resolutions of 1948 and 1949, now known as the UNCIP [UN Commission for India and Pakistan] resolutions, (because of the Commission that worked it all), actually confirmed this Indian commitment. These provided for a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir under the aegis of the United Nations. It is, therefore, not true that the United States has nothing to do with the Kashmir problem. The United States is as much a part to the UNCIP resolutions as any other member of the Security Council, more so as one of its permanent members.

An important point in this context is that Pakistan accepted the plan enunciated in the UNCIP resolutions (of 13 August 1948, and 29 August 1949), after President Truman and Mr. Attlee, sent messages to Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan urging them to accept the Commission's proposals. The U.S. delegate at the Security Council along with the British Representative, (Mr. Attlee had specially sent his live-wire Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Noel Baker, to participate in the proceedings), also assured Pakistan that the plan did indeed ensure a "fair and impartial" plebiscite—which

never took place simply because India reneged on its solemn and clear commitment to the international community (including the United States and the UK).

Even a Plebiscite Administrator was appointed: Admiral Nimitz of the World War II fame. This writer has a vivid memory of a chance meeting with the Admiral in California in 1962 (while on a tour of the United States). He was bitter about his not being able to take up the assignment and blamed Pandit Nehru for the continuing crisis in Kashmir. This scribe also remembers reading a report of a meeting in the United States addressed by Prof. A.S. Bokhari, then Pakistan Representative at the UN, explaining this country's stand on Kashmir. A person, apparently sent by some interested party, started heckling ASB (as he was affectionately referred to by his admirers), and claimed that the majority of the audience was opposed to his viewpoint. The redoubtable professor readily retorted.

"The matter is not so simple. Whatever the 'majority' here may say, it is the millions of Kashmiris living in their land thousand of miles away who have to decide their future."

In a similar vein, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto observed in one of his broadcasts: "India would have us abandon the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. How can we? It is not our right that is in question. It is the right, birthright, of the people of Kashmir."

Although both India and Pakistan unconditionally accepted the UNCIP resolutions, India had no intention of honouring it. Pandit Nehru, in the words of Justice V.M. Tarkunde of India, "backed out of the plebiscite proposal on the wholly irrelevant ground that Pakistan in the meantime had accepted (U.S.) arms and entered into a military pact with the United States." All the more irrelevant today when India is turning to the United States for more and more sophisticated arms and military technology.

Consequently, as the Indian human rights activist Inder Mohan has pointed out, Kashmir has suffered rigged elections, governments "installed" by the Centre, unparalleled corruption and brutal repression. All this has led to the current uprising and revolt in which Kashmiris are challenging the forces of the Indian Occupation and dying every day for their freedom. In political terms, India has already lost Kashmir.

In any case, it is not simply a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan. Even the Simla Agreement does nothing to affect the Kashmiris' right of self-determination.

The contention that Israel's nuclear programme is justified because "it is encircled by enemies" is also not correct. Thanks to the consistent policy of the U.S. right from the day of its inception of 1948 to this day, Israel has been armed to the teeth with the most modern, sophisticated conventional weapons available in American armoury. There has never, repeat never, been a

chance for even a combined armed might of all its Arab neighbours to pose the slightest threat to its security in any manner whatsoever. Only one quote suffices to prove this point:

General Mattityahu Peled (one of the architects of Israeli victory in 1967): "There is no reason to hide the fact that since 1949 no one dared, or more precisely, no one was able, to threaten the existence of Israel. To claim that the Egyptian forces were capable of threatening Israel's existence not only insults the intelligence of anyone capable of analysing this kind of situation, but is also an insult to Zahal (the Israeli army)."

So there was never any need or the remotest justification for an Israeli nuclear programme.

The U.S. diplomat in Islamabad did not say why Israel has incurred the "enmity" of all its Arab neighbours. This has direct connection with the denial of the right of self-determination to the Palestinians whose lands have been usurped by the Israelis. Right from the day the infamous Balfour Declaration gifted away Palestine to Jews who constituted hardly 8 percent of the predominantly Arab population, the Palestinians never had a chance of a free vote.

Even today, Israeli Prime Minister Shamir is adamant in claiming a veto on who should represent the Palestinians at the peace conference promoted by the United States. The Intifadah, uprising started by the Palestinians in December, 1987, is for the restoration of this inalienable right of self-determination. At least 1,200 Palestinians have laid down their lives for this cause since then.

President Bush has promised a deal on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 (338 only reiterates the call for the implementation of 242). Lord Caradon, who was the author of 242, in a convincing analysis published in December, 1985, stressed that "Resolution 242 unanimously declared the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by war. There must consequently be a withdrawal of Israeli troops from territory occupied in the 1967 conflict. If the territory is restored, the Palestinians can be free (to exercise their right of self-determination) and Israel can be secure."

A top U.S. expert on the Middle East, Mr. Alfred L. Atherton Jr., has never tired of emphasising the fact that America recognises the universality of the principle of self-determination of all nations and all peoples and of recommending that the United States should act on this principle in the case of the Palestinians too.

This possibility cannot be entirely ruled out in view of fast-changing world scenarios. There can be free vote in Kashmir and Palestine under the aegis of the UN just it was done in Namibia and Nicaragua and is proposed for Angola, Cambodia, and, now, even for Afghanistan.

NAM Seen Necessary To Oppose U.S. Aims

92AS0134G Karachi DAWN in English 1 Oct 91 p 11

[Article by Shameem Akhtar: "Redefining NAM's Role"]

[Text] The four-day meeting of the NAM [Nonaligned Movement] ministerial council (September 4-7, 1991) at Accra took place in the aftermath of the abortive coup in the Soviet Union to redefine its role in the world affairs now that there no longer exist the two rival power blocs—at least for the present. There is just one power, the United States, which threatens to impose its hegemony on the whole world in the name of a new world order.

As the Soviet Union was paralysed by deepening economic crisis such as visited the capitalist countries in 1930, the United States adventurists overran Grenada in 1983, Panama in 1989 and Iraq in early 1991. Their next targets are Cuba, the People's Republic of China, Pakistan and North Korea.

The Bush administration has been interfering in their internal affairs either on the pretext of human rights or nuclear non-proliferation. It wants Tibet to become independent, Hong Kong a state within state even after its transfer to the parent country in 1997 and China's economy capitalist.

Though the People's Republic of China is not a non-aligned state, it is an important Third World country and an impediment to the colonial designs of the United States. The United States is bent upon toppling the legitimate government of Cuba and has been pressuring Moscow to cut off all aid to that small valiant Caribbean nation that defeated the US-backed invasion at the Bay of Pigs in 1961.

Together with its NATO partners also known as the European Community, the United States has been inciting Yugoslavia's component units: Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia to secede from the federation. Now Yugoslavia, a pioneer of the nonaligned movement, is faced with its dismemberment, thanks to the complicity of the NATO powers though it has always taken a moderate stance in East-West conflict.

Pakistan, which is still a military ally of the United States since it continues to be a member of the March 1959 Mutual Security Pact and demonstrated its fealty to Washington by sending its troops to the Saudi-Yemeni sector during the Gulf war, is faced with the US embargo on aid. The Bush administration wants Pakistan to stop its research and development programme regarding the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Another fellow non-aligned country, Sri Lanka, which declared the British envoy persona non grata because of his involvement in activities lying outside the scope of his duties as a diplomat, was penalised by Britain which cut off all economic and technical assistance to that country.

Since the retreat of the Soviet Union from the centre-stage of world politics, the United States has intensified its interventionist role especially in the Third World countries; only recently the dreaded instrument of state terrorism, the CIA, was reported to have planned the murder of the army chief of Suriname.

The Bush administration has embarked upon a malicious propaganda campaign against North Korea's nuclear campaign against North Korea's nuclear programme similar to that against Pakistan despite Pyongyang's offer to submit its nuclear facilities to the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] inspection provided the United States remove its nuclear arsenal from South Korea. Washington is not prepared to remove its stockpile of nuclear weapons from South Korea but goes on blaming Pyongyang.

The President of Ghana, Jerry Rawlings, made a pointed reference to the grim scenario in which the United States at least for the time being has emerged as the supreme power on earth. In other words all other states especially the smaller ones have become vulnerable to its pressure.

Unlike the Soviet Union, the United States has not abandoned its doctrinaire approach to international politics. On the contrary it has set about the task of dictating other states to adopt its political and economic system which it deems perfect. This is a unique phenomenon perhaps in human history when a single state has come to wield an unchallenged sway over other nations.

Never before the ideals of NAM, respect for sovereignty of all states, large and small, peaceful co-existence and peaceful settlement of all international disputes, which evolved at Bandung some thirty six years ago, were so relevant as today. These very ideals are enshrined in the UN Charter. Therefore, the ministerial conference rightly decided at Accra to strengthen the United Nations.

Again, since the US-Soviet rapprochement, something for which NAM has been striving for, the world has witnessed that Washington has been using the Security Council as if it were a subsidiary of the State Department.

The most recent example was furnished by the Gulf war during which the United States bypassed the Security Council and with the support of the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China, the powers most likely to have restrained American adventurism, invaded Iraq. Neither the procedures regarding the enforcement action under Chapter VII of the UN Charter were invoked nor was the Military Staff Committee allowed any role in the operations but the US-led invasion was attributed to the UN.

At that time, the UN Secretary General when criticised by the world public opinion, had to admit that he was not informed about the January 17 invasion and that it was not a UN operation. But later, when the UN Chief Executive thought that the dust had settled down, he

wrote in his report—the last report perhaps—"the United Nations was not designed to monopolise the peace process, that as long as a credible peace process was in motion, there could be no cause for complaint that the organisation was being bypassed."

Thus, he defended an action outside the UN structure by a power or group of powers. Therefore, the United States and Israel would be justified in invading other states in the name of peace.

This dangerous trend has to be jointly resisted by 102 NAM states if they have to preserve their sovereignty and territorial integrity. The NAM ministerial conference has rightly demanded the expansion of the Security Council particularly its permanent membership. It has stressed the democratisation of the United Nations which means that either the veto should be done away with or certain Third World countries should be given veto power as a counterweight to the Big-Five-syndicate.

If the Big-Five oppose the natural evolution of the world body and seek to perpetuate their monopoly, they would be only destroying the United Nations like the League of Nations. They should learn from the fate of the Soviet Union. The same could happen to them and they could cease to be what they are today. After all did not Britain and France cease to be the most powerful empires after the Second World War?

Similarly, didn't Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires lose their big power status after the First World War? Do the Big-Five think they would remain the way they are from here to eternity, the fall of the Soviet Union notwithstanding? Just as the United States and Soviet Union replaced Britain and France as the Big-Two during the post World War II, they too could be replaced by some other powers in future. Therefore, monopolistic attitude would not and cannot work in a changing world. It will cause war.

There is an element of naivete in the perceptions of certain members who think that colonialism is dead. It is not so because Falklands, occupied Northern Ireland, Puerto Rico, Guam, Diego Garcia, Panama Canal Zone, occupied Palestine, etc., are colonies in their nineteenth century form. The very thrust of the Nonaligned Movement has been towards the political and economic liberation of the Third World countries.

Colonialism imposes political, military and economic domination of one power upon the other. Therefore, decolonisation would mean freedom from political, military and economic control of a foreign power. What happened during the post-World War II period is that most colonies have been freed from political and military control of metropolitan powers but they remain under their economic tutelage.

There are a number of countries whose governments do not exercise control over their natural resources because they are under the control of foreign corporations. Some

of these companies or multinationals are so strong such as Texaco in Kuwait and ITT in Chile that they are the power behind the throne.

If the matter were between the host country and the concessionaire, it will not jeopardise the sovereignty of that state. In most cases, the flag of the concessionaire's country follows the foreign monopoly and—since the Gulf war—the multinational forces, thanks to Bush's new world order.

It is doubtlessly a colonial situation. Today it is Iraq, tomorrow it will be Pakistan. The NAM has failed to meet this threat. First, it could not sort out the Iraq-Kuwait dispute. Second, it failed to pre-empt the US-led invasion of its founder member, Iraq, by concerted action. Third, the Accra conference has been disappointing in that it did not demand the lifting of sanctions against Iraq.

On the other hand, certain of its members had sent troops to fight under the US command and permitted the use of their bases for attack on Iraqi territory. President Rawlings was very right when he pointed out the failure of the NAM in resolving the disputes between its own members. If the nonaligned nations do not learn to live at peace with one another they would fall prey to colonial aggrandisement.

The need of the hour is to face the American hegemonism that looms over their heads. Divided they fall. The NAM should tell the proponents of the new world order that instead of lecturing to the Third World on human rights they should first give equal rights to their blacks, the Irish, immigrants and provide shelter and jobs to millions of their homeless and jobless citizens. If the United States wants peace, let it stop selling arms to the Third World and liquidate the CIA as the Russians dissolved the KGB. These agencies have been destabilising the Third World states and internationalising terrorism.

The economic colonialism is manifested in the iniquitous and unjust international economic order; the mounting debt burden of the developing countries which has now exceeded \$1,320 billion, the denial of access to the markets of the industrialised countries of the commodities produced by the developing countries, the falling prices of the primary products of those countries, the outflow of the resources of the Third World countries, its dependence on the existing currency reserves and embargo on the transfer of technology to the underdeveloped countries.

The answer to all this is the South-South co-operation. In 1976, the Colombo Summit decided to set up Solidarity Fund for the social and economic development of the nonaligned countries and to create a counter-currency based on the economic power in order to reduce dependence on the existing reserve currencies and to promote collective self-reliance on their own resources.

It is indeed a positive step the NAM foreign ministers took at Accra to recommend the creation of an international bank of the nonaligned nations, a proposal made by Sri Lanka at Colombo Summit. The Accra meeting also reiterated its desire to promote North-South co-operation but such initiatives were stonewalled in the past by the North.

The practicable strategy for the South should be to give priority to regional co-operation for development by such Third World countries as enjoy geopolitical and economic affinities such as ASEAN, SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation], ECO [Economic Cooperation Society], etc. The Third World countries should press for the reduction of their debt burden but at the same time they should cut down their armaments programme to the minimum requirements of their security. For this, they need to sort out conflicts among their fellow members and initiate confidence-building measures.

Certain pessimists believe that the NAM has outlived its utility since the East-West confrontation has come to an end but they overlook the North-South issues. In fact there is greater need for the NAM to redouble its efforts for the liberation of the nations of the Third World from the economic bondage of the West. There will be considerable relevance of the NAM in the future when the world will be split into three rival trading blocs; North America, Europe and Japan, each engaged in a trade war with the other.

U.S. Attacked for Not Supporting Kashmiri Militants

92AS0134A Lahore *THE NATION* in English 1 Oct 91
p 7

[Article by Brig Bashir: "Kashmir at Crossroads"]

[Text] Kashmir freedom struggle, two-year-old, is now a fully fledged insurgency campaign enjoying almost universal support from the Muslim population in Indian-held Kashmir (IHK). But unlike Afghanistan which had the support of a superpower, the United States, besides China, Saudi Arabia and virtually the entire free world, Kashmiri freedom-fighters have only indirect support from Pakistan, Afghan Muhajideen and some organisations of Muslim countries. Their resources are limited to face Indian military might that is disproportionately bigger and extensively punitive, surpassing all norms of human behaviour.

Most constraining factor is the absence of secure bases. Whereas the Afghans had a safe haven in Pakistan and borders completely fluid for cross movement, Indians are heavily guarding the Line of Control (LOC) in the form of layered defences and mercilessly punishing villages located close to LOC for even slight suspicion of providing refuge to the freedom-fighters. Like the Soviets, Indian army and its special forces "Black Cat" are engaged in crushing the movement. Conversely the Mujahideen had matching weaponry and secure sources,

channelised through a powerful organisation in Pakistan, forcing Russians to commit special task troops like Spetnaz. In Kashmir, the freedom-fighters' inventory of weapons till recently was confined to personal weapons with uncertain flow. In Afghanistan, the Mujahideen while operating from rural areas immediately stepped into the second phase of insurgency, boldly engaging and mounting hit-and-run attacks on fortifications.

Vast ethnicity gave the Mujahideen greater liberty, engaging widely separated multiple targets which induced imbalance and psychological fear in the Soviet forces. In Kashmir, the movement basically took off in the form of *intefeda*, organising processions, protest rallies, strikes and disobedience to the state law, imposing their own control but all actions confined to the urban population centres with its pivot resting in Srinagar. It was mainly due to faulty estimates of the Indian administration and security forces who brutally started killing unarmed people and committing shameful acts of rape and arson which gave boost and strength to the people. It enhanced their resolve and expanded the movement.

Diplomatically, Afghanistan remained in international focus and the Soviet invasion was condemned not only in the United Nations but almost in all world forums. Kashmiris' feeble voice finds little resonance and least commensurate response from super or major powers. Kashmiris are also unfortunate for yet another reason. In December '79 the phobia of containment and confrontation with expansionist communism was the order of the day. Today the industrialised world is occupied in some most crucial issues, bearing direct and immediate influence on their national interest. It is indeed ironic that while the United States, the lone superpower and her allies are hectically engaged in supporting the cause of freedom in Europe, Yugoslavia and disintegrating Union of the Soviet Republic, they consider the Kashmiris' freedom demand a regional issue to be decided mutually by India and Pakistan. Lastly, the Afghan struggle was spread over entire length and breadth of the country. In Kashmir it is confined to the valley-north of Pir Panjal Range, a searching question why people in Poonch, Rajuari, Noshera are quiet and not supporting the movement. Kashmiris, therefore, deserve ovation and loud applause for not only sustaining the struggle but successfully extending their operations to the rural areas. It reflects its indigenous character, genuineness of their cause, their will to attain their objective—the cherished goal of freedom.

During the year '91 the freedom fighters' strength has remarkably increased with improved weaponry and emphasised shift in their tactics and area of operation. Initially, they had a nucleus of trained manpower who fought with their compatriots in Afghanistan, an ideal training ground. Thus, starting with estimated 500 hard core armed fighters, today their strength has risen to 12,000, operating around Srinagar and the Valley of Kashmir, the insurgency's heartland. Indian retaliations involving burning of houses in the vicinity of an area of

attack, leaving hundreds of families homeless, encouraged the youth, men and women to join the struggle with greater vengeance, thus enlarging the area of conflict.

With the passage of time, the weapons, tactics and engagement areas have improved their punch. Beginning with ubiquitous assault rifles, the fighters' arsenal now includes handy AK-47, stick grenades, Rocket Propelled Grenades (RPG) launchers, anti-personnel and anti-tank mines. We have reports that the freedom-fighters have set up indigenous bomb making capacity. So far, the Indians have not employed air force which in any case is least effective in mountainous terrain and there are no indications of the fighters having any surface-to-air missiles. But it would be worthwhile for those supporting the movement to provide them such weapons as it will inevitably add a third dimensions to the conflict and raise the cost of war for India. After all, India has to maintain forces in the Valley, Leh, Ladakh and Siachen and air movements could become attractive targets.

The fighters have also changed their tactics. Improved weapons have led to significance in the frequency of insurgent initiated contacts. To avoid sufferings of people living in Srinagar and other population centres, they are expanding the space of war to move the struggle into the countryside. Their targets are ambush on transportation artery and greater focus on military logistic dumps, etc. Likewise, they have set up training courses inside the Valley where instructions are imparted by combat experienced fighters.

We may conclude that despite the Indians' suppressive measures and many constraints, the freedom-fighters have successfully sustained the movement, a step into the stage of setting a resistance with popular support and entering the second phase—complete guerilla warfare. But all is not well and there are threatening grey areas that the figures have to reconcile and boldly face.

The Indian Northern Command with two Corps headquarters is deployed in IHK. Excluding forces committed for operations along IHK—Pakistan borders—Sialkot sector, they have five Infantry Divisions looking after 755 miles LOC, Siachen and rest of the areas. The Infantry divisions are not conventionally organised on triangular basis but invariably have 17-18 infantry units. Indian strategy has been reactive and kept on increasing forces over the last two years. Today, in addition to five infantry divisions mentioned above, they have saturated the Valley with 27 battalions of Border Security Force, 24 battalion of Central Reserve Police, two units of Assam Rifles and 14 battalions of Indo-Tibetan Police. Having failed to crush the conflict they have reportedly moved in 8th, 20th and 57th Infantry Divisions, latter being specially assigned to Srinagar, having experience in counter insurgency in Mizoram, Sri Lanka and Punjab. By some estimates, today, there is one soldier for every twelve Kashmiris in the Valley.

Mr G.C. Saxena, Governor of IHK, an ex-Chief of Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) is trying to reassert

the central government's grip and put an end to the fast deteriorating situation. He has inducted experts to revamp intelligence apparatus and smooth coordination between the civil and military authorities. His reoriented strategy is to seal off the LOC, instil discipline in the security forces, create or widen the wedge between various freedom fighters' groups and to win over the population through planned development programmes. The central theme of his operational concept is to buy time and wear out the freedom fighters. The Indian Army has been attacking Pakistani posts across the LOC to escalate tension but at considerable cost.

The pattern and phenomenon in Kashmir is almost identical to Afghanistan. Rapid and spontaneous expansion of an uprising owes its success largely to the authority and ambitions of local leaders. There is an appreciation among various liberation organisations about the advantages of hydra-headed insurgency groups but loosely linked. Such diversification renders any surgical decapitation of movement impossible. These virtues point to the fact that the loss of many top commanders has not brought any diminution in the level of conflict. According to some sources there are over 100 separate groups, each proud of its achievements. But from among them, two have acquired significant military and political profile. Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), founded in 1977, is the oldest. Its martyred founder, Maqbool Butt, was hanged in New Delhi in 1984. Today the party is led by Pakistan-based Amanullah Khan. It seeks to establish a secular and independent state embracing IHK, AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] and northern areas. Such credentials have given the party and its active student wing a wide following in the West. Over the past year, it has rapidly lost its ground and its fortune buffeted mainly by the rising Islamic challenge within the movement. Hizb-e-Islami, spear-heading the Islamic challenge by secular JKLF is championing accession to Pakistan. Under GM Safi, its gains are praiseworthy. It fields a larger armed following than JKLF. Its links with powerful and best organised Jamaat-i-Islami and bondage with militant leaders in Afghanistan makes it the only forum to sustain the movement. It has access to weapons, morale and material support and training bases to substitute losses immediately.

Diplomatically, the world does not ward the offer favourable opportunities, the United States seems to be inclined to secular view and has little strategic interest. The Soviets, having accepted the verdict of the peoples power for freedom are in serious trouble to sort out its own affairs. Regional organisations such as OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] and NAM [Non-aligned Movement] have lost their balancing value in the changed world scenario. The slogans today are to build a New World Order more stable, peaceful and free, founded on the rule of law, democracy and self-determination, a world in which each region has its own balance and structure. These lofty aims apparently find little relevance or serious international concern to the

struggle and sacrifices of Kashmiris. Kashmir though is recognized as an area of potential threat in the region. It finds only consoling advice—settle the dispute peacefully through bilateral dialogue.

Pakistan has done reasonably well by internationalising the issue and raising it in recent moots of OIC and NAM. It has achieved its purpose partially of exposing Indian atrocities and human rights violations but that is obviously not enough.

As party to the dispute, committed to the freedom of Kashmir on the bases of UN resolutions, what would be the main ingredients of our policy and posturing? Certainly a vast and intricate subject and one can at best set out broad outlines. The pre-requisites for our success are a clear vision, firm political will combined with flexibility to deal with all embarrassing aspects of the dispute. Crisis prevention and crisis management pre-suppose a stable and viable Pakistan. Regrettably, this is our weakest spot. A country afflicted by poor economic conditions, corruption and internal feuds where government in power and the opposition are trying to prove which lot is more corrupt can hardly set an example for a homogenous region, Kashmir, to join Pakistan. Indian planners will try and, in fact, are active to sow the seed of discord among the freedom fighters' groups. Let the situation do not grow to a limit where we loose control and there is in-house fighting. Luckily, Islam has moved to the centre stage as a motivating force, providing the uprising an international relevance. Kashmir struggle is part of world-wide Islamic reassertion that finds its high point in Palestine and Afghanistan Jihad. Hizb-i-Islami having had training in Afghanistan, the sense of a wider commonality is real. Indian hard-hitting reprisals against the general population has generated universal sympathy and proved to be counter-productive. Therefore, the movement that has survived so far has the capacity to expand and not diminish. However, its future would depend on a number of factors.

First and foremost is how well we in Pakistan manage our own home. We are fast heading towards isolation. As in the past the United States has stabbed us in the back by lifting application of the Pressler Amendment to India. We can no longer expect any favours from the United States. Two options available to us are, reconcile—roll back nuclear programme and forget Kashmir. Or accept "defiance" which demands sacrifices. Are we prepared for it?

Second, those sponsoring the movement have to ensure constraint flow of supplies. Distances and topography combine to make complete sealing of the LOC an impossible exercise.

Third, the movement must expand and involve people south of Pir Panjal. It demands coordination and a well-conceived plan.

Fourth, the Kashmir movement draws its aspiration from Afghanistan's successful struggle. We salute to the achievement of Mujahideen and hope that the new

opportunities which offer speedy settlement of the Afghanistan will be favourably utilised. An Afghanistan on road to recovery will add to the strength and courage of the freedom fighters in Kashmir.

Lastly, India can resort to an erratic decision and impose war in an area of her own choosing. Though the chances of such a course of action are limited but we cannot afford to lower our guard.

PPP Leader Alleges U.S. Hegemony

92AS0011E Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 5 Sep 91 p 4

[News Report: "Get Rid of U.S. Hegemony—Chowdhery Ahmed Khan"]

[Text] Chanute (Correspondent)—Chowdhery Ahmed Devka, district president of the People's Party of Jhang District, has asked Pakistan's government to play an important role in the conference of the foreign ministers of nonaligned nations. He said that it should bring the nonaligned nations together to have closer political, economic, and cultural ties. He said that restrictions on easing visas should be removed, and cultural deputations should be sent abroad. He added that it should ask to establish a nonaligned nations' market to counter the seven-nation European market. He felt that committees should be created to visit other countries to establish mutual understanding and to bring them together, in order to get rid of the hegemony of the United States and other Western countries. In addition, restrictions on visiting SARAK nations should be removed. All restrictions on various individual and group trade should be removed. They should also sign a peace agreement among themselves.

JUP Founder Alleges Increasing U.S. Interference

92AS0011A Karachi JANG in Urdu 9 Sep 91 p 1

[News Report: "Increasing U.S. Interference in Pakistan"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Karachi (Staff Reporter)—Professor Shah Faridul Haq, founder of Jamiat-i Ulema-i Pakistan (JUP), said that "the United States has become a self-styled ruler of the Gulf region. Pakistan will be its next target after Iraq. It is deplorable that some irresponsible politicians in their power-madness have gone berserk to establish U.S. supremacy. This has hurt Pakistan's prestige very badly." He added, "U.S. interference in Pakistan's politics is increasing. The U.S. diplomat's comment that 'Pakistan has crossed the green light in its nuclear program, and is going to end up running the red light' is also deplorable. When one runs a red traffic light, an accident is possible." Professor Shah Faridul Haq said that the U.S. ambassador's statement was equivalent to interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs. Professor Haq said that foreign powers "are becoming bold enough to interfere in our affairs because we have strife among our ranks, and activities of vengeance have reached epidemic proportions." He said that if there is unity in our

ranks, "the enemy cannot even bat an eye at us." He added that if the government canceled its nuclear program under U.S. pressure, it would be "unable to protect itself from the peoples' anger. Whoever would be responsible for this would be a national criminal."

Commentary Calls for Restoration of U.S. Aid

92AS0134C Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in English 28 Sep 91 pp 1, 8

[Article by Syed Adeeb: "It's Time To Resume U.S. Aid to Pakistan"]

[Text] Washington—Several major inter-related developments have taken place recently.

1) US secretary of state James Baker and Soviet foreign minister Boris Pankin have jointly announced in Moscow that on January 1, 1992, USA and USSR would cut off all military assistance to their clients in the Afghan conflict.

2) Border skirmishes between Pakistani and Indian armed forces are on the rise.

3) US Congress has rejected the Lagomarsioni-Wilson-Kostmayer Amendment which sought to halt the development of any additional Indian nuclear bombs by applying the Pressler Amendment like conditions on US aid to India.

4) The Bush administration has intensified its efforts to improve US-India relations after getting sick and tired of the anti-American rhetoric of the Pakistani establishment.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has advised the Bush administration and the US Congress that so far Pakistan has developed 15 nuclear bombs and that India has manufactured 100 nuclear weapons. But still, the official American delegation will tell the Sharif regime during their meetings in Islamabad that in order to receive more US aid, it should give up Pakistan nuclear 'weapons' programme by signing the NPT [Non-proliferation Treaty], forget about exporting nuclear weapons technology, and improve India-Pakistan relations by signing a no-war treaty with India.

Due to ideological reasons, American double standards, and New Delhi's nuclear bomb issue, the Sharif regime will not be able to meet the above three American demands. As a result, a new balance of power in the region could emerge bringing Pakistan-China-Iran on one side and India-United States-Afghanistan on the other. Such a balance will cause there furor. In pursuing its interests in India, Afghanistan, Middle East and with China, the United States should be cognisant of Pakistan security anxieties and should avoid actions that will unnecessarily exacerbate the concerns that are prompting Pakistan to consider nuclear arming.

The US Congress should reconsider its unilateral non-proliferation policy in South Asia and resume aid to

Pakistan because Pakistan can be a key player in establishing a New World Order based on equal justice. America really cannot stop Pakistan from going nuclear by deteriorating its relations with this strategic ally after all. India, Israel and South Africa are new nuclear weapon-states. Since America is giving aid to these nuclear countries and keeping economic relations with them, it can also restore aid to Pakistan and maintain mutually beneficial ties. As far as disarmament and non-proliferation are concerned, the United States should implement a regional approach in South Asia and pursue an international policy to eliminate all nuclear arsenals in the whole world by the year 2000.

There are too many discriminatory restrictions on US aid to Pakistan several inter-related US laws seek to influence Pakistani nuclear conduct by the threat to terminate US economic and military assistance. Successive American administrations have also used this approach, at least implicitly according to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the key laws and policy initiatives are:

1) The 1976 Symington Amendment barring aid to non-weapon countries importing uranium enrichment technology: waived by legislation in 1981 for six years, waiver renewed for two and a half years in 1987.

The Symington Amendment, in essence, prohibits US aid to any non-nuclear-weapon state that imports uranium enrichment technology or equipment but refuses to place all of its nuclear installations under International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards. The provision specifies that the US president may waive this ban, however, if he has obtained "reliable assurances that the country in question will not acquire or develop nuclear weapons or assist other nations in doing so" and if he determines that the termination of assistance would have "a serious adverse effect on vital United States interests."

US aid to Pakistan was cut off in 1979 after it became known that Islamabad was acquiring enrichment technology from western Europe and building an unguarded enrichment plant at Kahuta. In 1981, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, special six years suspension of this provision with respect to Pakistan was enacted, however, to permit the restoration of assistance, amounting to 3.2 billion dollars over the six years. Legislation suspending the law was necessitated by the fact that the US president could not take advantage of the waiver provision contained within the Symington Amendment, since he was unable to obtain the necessary "reliable assurances" that Pakistan was not acquiring or developing nuclear weapons. A two and a half year renewal of the 1981 legislation suspending the Symington Amendment was enacted in December 1987, again necessitated by the lack of reliable assurances concerning Islamabad's nuclear activities.

2) The 1977 Glenn Amendment barring aid to countries importing reprocessing (plutonium [as published] extraction) technology: Waived by presidential action in 1982. The Glenn Amendment prohibits US aid for any country that imports reprocessing technology or equipment. Pakistan was importing reprocessing technology from France during the mid-1970s. For this reason, US aid was suspended for approximately a year beginning in August 1977, although the Glenn Amendment provision was not formally invoked.

France ended such transfers in 1978, but clandestine Pakistani purchases, of reprocessing equipment apparently continued. The Glenn Amendment was not formally triggered after in the 1970s. However, because this would have been redundant after US aid to Pakistan was suspended in 1979 under Symington Amendment (prohibiting the importation of uranium enrichment technology).

When the Symington Amendment was waived by legislation in 1981 to permit the restoration of US aid, however, Islamabad was reportedly still violating the Glenn Amendment stipulating against importation of reprocessing technology. Thus, a waiver of the Glenn Amendment was also needed.

A provision the Glenn Amendment itself permitted the US president to waive the aid cut-off if he determined that the termination of assistance would "be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of US non-proliferation objectives or otherwise jeopardise the common defense and security." Such a finding was quietly made in February 1982.

3) The 1977 ban on aid to non-nuclear-weapon countries that receive, detonate or transfer nuclear explosives: Currently in force. Another provision, enacted as part of the original 1977 Glenn Amendment prohibits US assistance to any non-nuclear-weapon state that receives or detonates a nuclear explosive device or transfers such a device to any other non-nuclear-weapon state. In 1981, the provision was strengthened by precluding its waiver by the US president for more than 30 days unless affirmatively authorised by a joint resolution (passed by a majority of both houses of US Congress and signed into law by the US president). This provision remains fully in force and seeks to maintain a critically important non-proliferation firebreak.

4) The 1984 letter from ex-US President Ronald Reagan to General Zia warning against high enrichment at Kahuta: Not enforced in 1986. Between 1981 and 1984, during the period of the first suspension of the Symington Amendment's enrichment technology importation ban, Islamabad completed the Kahuta enrichment plant. In September 1984, President Reagan wrote General Zia seeking assurances that Islamabad would not enrich uranium there to more than five per cent a level not usable for nuclear weapons. Reagan's letter warned that enrichment beyond this level would have grave consequences for US-Pakistan relations.

Islamabad agreed to the five-per cent limit, but it is now understood to have subsequently surpassed this level in late 1985 or early 1986, producing weapons-grade, highly enriched uranium at the Kahuta installation. This development appears to have no negative impact on US-Pakistan relations, and in March or April 1986, shortly after it apparently became known to the Reagan administration, Washington offered Islamabad a second six-year aid package in the amount of 4.02 billion dollar to begin with fiscal year 1988 (October 1, 1987), when the original aid package was set to expire. Thus the threat implicit in President Reagan's letter to General Zia was not carried out, yet it is generally believed that General Zia was assassinated because of his nuclear policy which the United States opposed through President Reagan's letter.

5) The 1985 Pressler Amendment—certification requirement barring economic aid and military sales to Pakistan if it is found to possess a nuclear device: Currently in force, barely satisfied in 1986-89 on October 1, 1990, by invoking the Pressler Amendment, US President George Bush suspended economic aid and military assistance to Pakistan. As reports of Islamabad's continued progress toward nuclear arms mounted, US Congress became concerned that the US laws, in effect, would permit Islamabad to build a nuclear arsenal without penalty, as long as it did not conduct a test or receive or transfer a nuclear explosive device, since only these steps would trigger an aid cut-off.

Accordingly, in 1985 a new provision—Pressler Amendment—applicable only to Pakistan, was enacted stipulating that for each fiscal year, before any aid could be transferred or military equipment sold to Islamabad, the US president would have to certify in writing to US Congress that "Pakistan does not possess a nuclear explosive device" and that US aid would significantly reduce the risk of its doing so.

The US president so certified in 1985-89—although by the time of the 1986 certification it was reported that Pakistan possessed the essentials for its first nuclear bomb, including the necessary highly enriched uranium, in unassembled form. However, in 1990, after receiving intelligence reports that Pakistan has developed an atomic bomb, President Bush refused to certify that "Pakistan does not possess a nuclear explosive device." Thus in October 1990, US aid to Islamabad was suspended and reduced by the Bush administration, which can only be restored by issuing the presidential Pressler Amendment certification.

6) The 1985 Solarz Amendment barring aid to non-nuclear-weapon countries that illegally exports nuclear commodities from the United States for use in nuclear explosive. In October 1984, a Pakistani national was convicted of attempting to illegally export to Pakistan 50 high-speed electronic switches, known as Krytrons, which are used in nuclear weapons.

The following May, a California businessman was indicted for smuggling over 800 of these devices to Israel. The two episodes led to the enactment of legislation prohibiting US aid to any country that is found by the US president to have illegally exported or attempted to illegally export from the United States material, equipment, or technology which could significantly assist it in the manufacture of a nuclear explosive device, if the US president also finds that the export was intended to be used for this purpose.

The law permits the US president to waive this prohibition, however, if he determines that suspending US assistance to the country involved would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of US non-proliferation objectives or otherwise jeopardise the common defence and security.

On December 18, 1987, a Pakistani-born Canadian, Arshad Pervez, was convicted in Philadelphia, USA, for attempting to export specially hardened steel to Pakistan. The verdict in the case made clear that the jury believed the steel was intended to support Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme. The government of Pakistan denied any involvement in the episode, and President Reagan did not make the findings necessary to trigger the Solarz Amendment. US Congressman Stephen Solarz and other American law makers have declared that the provision has been violated, however.

In summary, on several occasions, the United States has backed away from enforcing the sanction of an aid cut-off against Pakistan, permitting the waiver of the Symington Amendment through legislation in 1981 and again in 1987, waiving the Glenn Amendment by presidential action in 1982, declining to react to the production of highly enriched uranium in 1986 despite the warning in President Reagan's 1984 letter to General Zia, and interpreting the "possession-of-a-nuclear-explosive-device" standard liberally in 1986 to avoid a suspension of assistance, even though Islamabad had reportedly acquired the wherewithal for its first nuclear device.

To continue aid to Pakistan in fiscal year 1991 after US Congress had renewed the waiver of the Symington Amendment, and appropriated the necessary funds, President Bush could not recertify that Pakistan does not possess a nuclear explosive device. In addition, President Bush may have to determine whether the 1985 Solarz Amendment has been violated. If he finds that it has been breached, the president would then have to waive the provision to permit the aid to be transferred to Islamabad. The Glenn Amendment waiver presumably remains in force. And the US president must also certify to the Congress that Pakistan is making a good faith effort to eradicate drug trafficking before aid to Islamabad is released.

The main obstacle blocking US aid to Pakistan is the Pressler Amendment. President Bush failed to issue the Pressler Certificate because he received reports that

Islamabad has developed at least 15 atomic bombs. But still, Bush urged the Congress to repeal the Pressler Amendment, however, the Congress refused to do so. So now it is clear that due to the aforementioned US laws, and especially because of the Pressler Amendment, President Bush cannot restore aid to Pakistan without first issuing the Pressler Certificate.

Nevertheless, the US Congress should abolish the discriminatory Pressler Amendment; delink its foreign aid policy from its nuclear non-proliferation policy; treat Pakistan with fairness; and immediately resume aid to Pakistan. Otherwise America will lose a dependable ally that may turn into an anti-American nuclear-weapon-state.

Government Urged To Ban Western TV Programs

92AS0011B Karachi JANG in Urdu 7 Sep 91 p 3

[Editorial: "Need for Revising TV Programs"]

[Text] Everyone agrees that television programs have a lot of influence on the mentality and character of our youth as well as on our national attitude. Therefore, serious and sagacious persons in our country have repeatedly said that care should be taken in selecting programs for the PTV [Pakistan Television]. This has been taken care of in the local plays that are aired. Additionally, many useful programs are also shown. However, much of the nation agrees that most of the programs on television have nothing to do with the needs or problems of our nation, or with its history or culture. Such programs are usually imported from Western countries. It is true that some English movies are shown after appropriate censorship. However, American wrestling and such programs have no reason to be aired on television. They should be replaced with good dramatic plays of national interest. They have started to show our own brand of wrestling on Tuesdays. This is a welcome change. These sports are related to our culture, and airing them helps increase our self-esteem. The present situation demands that we keep our youth informed about the enemy's conspiracies and prepare them for national security. We should protect them from getting addicted to drugs, becoming involved in violence and terrorism, and other bad habits. A few months ago, a new program called "Pasban" was started to provide drug education and other beneficial services. However, the program was canceled for some reason. We believe that such programs would help develop our youth as solid citizens, and help them learn to lead a productive life and be disciplined and strong willed. In summary, we must adopt PTV policies to meet the needs of our nation. We should not air foreign programs without fully reviewing them, to ensure that we do not poison the minds of our youth. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting should take important steps without any delay.

Editorial Calls For Close Ties to Iran

92AS0040I Lahore THE NATION in English 16 Sep 91 p 6

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq's high-profile state visit to Iran, though a normal diplomatic exercise, has come at a time when there could not have been a more pressing need for seeking reliable and mutually beneficial relationships of our own choice. Friendship with Iran has above all been a geopolitical compulsion for Pakistan. In the wake of an enduring threat perception from India's aggressive designs and hostility by successive regimes in Afghanistan, apart from China, Iran has been the only neighbour in the region with which Pakistan could interact and develop friendly and cooperative ties. Incidentally, the two countries had, as far back as early fifties, opted to align themselves with the Western bloc and thus found themselves playing the U.S. surrogates together, particularly in the CENTO [Central Treaty Organization]. Nevertheless, the Shah of Iran was, at the zenith of his power, designated by the United States as the regional policeman, and the relationship between the two countries never blossomed into genuine friendship based on equality and mutuality of interests. The advent of Islamic Revolution in Iran could have, in its initial stages of anti-American frenzy, dealt a death blow to Pak-U.S. relations, when Pakistan was still among the most-favoured U.S. ally. But the dynamics of geopolitics coupled with a growing sense of pragmatism proved to be a saving grace and the two nations were induced to sustain their relationship in turbulent times.

Now that a new-born identity of interests and perceptions has brought the two countries closer than ever before, and their relationship is patently more vibrant, the agenda of Pak-Iran ties has to look beyond the narrow domain of economic collaboration. The memorandum of understanding signed in Tehran is a modest beginning in expanding the areas of cooperation and hopefully will be followed by similar initiatives in the days to come. But the real task that has to be taken up jointly and with a sense of urgency is to meet the challenge of the so-called New World Order. In the wake of the Soviet Union's virtual break-up and the emergence of independent Muslim Republics in Central Asia, a comprehensive strategy, to re-establish links with our 'lost' brethren, has to be soon worked out and it would be in the fitness of things if Iran and Pakistan, who share the ideal of unifying the Ummah, would go about doing it together. Perhaps the only honourable course of action available to small nations in the unipolar world is to try and facilitate the process of creating new parallel centres of power. And if there is any understanding in Islamabad of the imperative of outgrowing the crisis of isolation thrust on Pakistan by the U.S. post-cold war disposition, it has to look towards Tehran for making a beginning in the right direction.

Greater Economic Collaboration With Iran Forged92AS0140B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
24 Sep 91 p 7

[Article by Absar Hussain Rizvi: "Breakthrough in Pakistan-Iran Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] Despite tall talk of the unity of the Ummah, and the facade of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) Muslim countries are nowhere nearer this cherished goal. Even the groupings like the late unlamented Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) established in early '60s by Iran, Pakistan and Turkey never got to take off stage. It seems that now at least Iran, Turkey and Pakistan are really serious to develop bilateral and trilateral cooperation through Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), which has succeeded the RCD.

The ECO summit is due in October in Tehran. This will be its first. The chances of success of ECO appear to be bright in view of the fact that the three member countries are trying to expand their bilateral economic cooperation also in real earnest. This has been evident over the last few years with the expansion of trade and industrial relations between Pakistan and Turkey, and Turkey and Iran.

Iran and Pakistan have also taken initiatives in recent years to forge greater economic collaboration and as a result of these initiatives during the recent official visit of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan five memoranda of understanding were signed (MOU) which, if implemented expeditiously and properly, would make a good beginning of long-term practical economic collaboration.

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's visit, like the visits of most of the Presidents of countries which have parliamentary system of government, should have been normally a goodwill visit, as the substantial political and economic talks are held at the Prime Ministers' level. But his visit was different. He held substantial talks with the Iranian leaders of regional and internal issues and concluded agreements on economic and trade matters. He had taken with him three important Ministers—Ministers of Finance, Petroleum and National Resources and Railways. He had carried specific proposals discussions on which produced tangible progress.

In the first round of their talks Presidents Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Rafsanjani decided that the economic collaboration must be commensurate with the deep rooted religious, cultural and political relations. They directed their ministers and officials to get together and recommend specific projects and plans for increasing the tempo of cooperation, and submit their report at the next round of talks which was held at the end of President Ishaq's visit. Not only were the projects and proposals finally approved by the two Presidents, a time-table and follow-up actions were also approved.

The two sides affirmed that expansion of trade and other relations was totally dependent on development of telecommunications, road transport and to facilitate bringing the two countries closer. This infrastructure was also visualised as contributory to future establishment of economic ties with the newly independent Soviet Central Asian Republics, who are now tasting unique autonomy. The Iranian and Pakistani Presidents also discussed the ties to be established with these republics, bilaterally and in the context of the ECO.

The possibilities of enlargement of the membership of ECO to begin with to include Afghanistan, after it becomes a truly non-aligned Islamic country was discussed with the ECO Secretary General who had a detailed meeting with President Ishaq.

One of the most important decisions taken at the Tehran summit was that Quetta will be linked by rail with Kirman in Iran by extending the existing Quetta-Zahidan link. There is no line between Zahidan and Kirman. When this gap of about five hundred kilometres is bridged, Pakistan will be directly linked by rail to Europe. This will provide a big boost to Pakistan's trade with Europe and be beneficial for Iran too. The two countries will study the project and cooperate in its implementation. Pakistan agreed to send a team of Railway engineers to Iran to rehabilitate and reconstruct this portion of the railway track. It was also agreed that Pakistan Railways will undertake the work of rehabilitation of Iranian locomotives at the earliest. A delegation of Pakistan Railways will visit Iran to follow up the progress in this regard.

Another highlight of the agreements was that the two countries will jointly explore oil on the borders of Pakistani and Iranian Balochistan, an area which is believed to have rich reserves of oil. Iran has already agreed to supply gas to Balochistan and also build an oil refinery. In addition, Iran has now agreed to provide electricity to Balochistan and particularly for Sandak copper mine project. The availability of power for Sandak project would greatly facilitate the implementation of this gigantic project which, when completed, would substantially add to the mineral wealth of Pakistan.

Measures have also been agreed upon to establish a framework for the regular border trade which has again great potential and would be mutually beneficial. In this connection a joint team of Pakistani and Iranian officials will visit the Iran-Turkey borders to study the operation of border trade between Iran and Turkey. The two countries have decided to take concrete steps for boosting the normal trade which would be facilitated with the decision of the ECO to enforce preferential tariff arrangements between the three member countries.

The two sides resolved that procedural matters for expansion of trade would be finalized at the earliest. For the last five years or so the trade has been not even one hundred million dollars a year, both ways. Until the

mid-eighties it was around five hundred million dollars. It has also been decided to enhance cooperation between the public sector enterprises of the two countries.

The cooperation in road construction aims at the carrying out a feasibility study on Nokkundi-Quetta and Karachi-Kararo sections of ECO highway. The Iranian side will, within a period of one month, depute road experts for joint survey of these two sections of the highway. The Iranian side agreed to furnish its proposal to Pakistan within one month of the visit of the experts. It was also agreed that the Secretary Ministry of Communications and an Iranian deputy minister will meet within one month to finalise the arrangements. A joint Transport and Communication Committee at ministerial level has been formed which will meet annually. The first meeting of this committee will be held in Islamabad in November 1991.

The agreement on Telecommunications and Postal Services stipulates the supply and installation of optic fibre manufactured in Iran alongwith optic fibre link among the three ECO countries. The Iranian side agreed to consider Pakistan's request for concessional price in this regard. Iran agreed to provide ten additional microwave circuits and six additional circuits on satellite between Tehran and Islamabad.

In order to ensure efficient telecom link between the two countries, the Chairmen of Telecommunication corporations of the two countries will meet once every six months and the first meeting will take place in Islamabad. The Regional Managers of Overseas Telecommunication of the two countries will also meet once in three months.—PPI Feature

Shadows in Ties To Iran: 'Extraneous' Elements Blamed

92AS0158B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Oct 91 p 6

[Article by Khalid Akhtar; quotation marks as published]

[Text] [Boxed item] The question is why these things are happening at a particular time. There is a widespread theory that it is the handiwork of either RAW [Research and Analysis Wing of Indian intelligence agency], Khad [Afghan secret service] and CIA [Central Intelligence Agency], or of all combined together to derail Pak-Iran relations just when they seem to take off towards a new height. And there are no two opinions that India, Afghanistan and America have found the close Pak-Iranian ties as an impediment to their respective designs in the region. [End box]

Delicately placed as Pakistan is in the changing regional scenario, nothing is more precious for us than our relations with Iran. But as is the case in other spheres, here too, the government is losing control. These all-important ties have become hostage to extraneous elements, one of them being the sectarian factor.

The assassination of Gen. (Retd) Fazle Haq and developments taking place since then, have cast a shadow on these ties, notwithstanding the 'all is well' rattling by the Foreign Office.

Commenting on the registration of FIR [First Information Report] against the Iranian Consul based in Peshawar in the murder of Gen. Haq, the Foreign Office spokesman termed it as an embarrassment to the country. But embarrassment is no word to explain the diplomatic dilemma in which Pakistan has found itself since then.

Apparently the provincial government did not refer this matter to the Foreign Office. But there is nothing to suggest it did not consult Islamabad either. It is a bit difficult to imagine that the provincial government could have taken the decision on its own, and allowed registration of FIR against a foreign diplomat, an unprecedented act by all means and by all standards.

It is difficult to recall that anything of the kind has happened anywhere in the world. Diplomats have been found involved in espionage, smuggling and other serious activities the world over. But they have been treated according to specific rules laid down for governing the conduct of diplomats.

The Iranian reaction could not have been anything but firm. In a strongly-worded statement issued by its embassy in Islamabad, Iran regretted and deplored the treatment meted out to its diplomat (which it called an insult to Iran) and cautioned the people of Pakistan against conspiracies hatched to spoil the two countries' 'special relationship.' The contents of the statement showed how deeply Iran had been hurt by the unfortunate events in Peshawar. Another significant thing about the statement was that it was addressed to the 'noble people' of Pakistan.

Next day Pakistan Ambassador in Tehran was summoned to the Foreign Ministry and a protest lodged with him over stoning of the Iranian Cultural Centre in Peshawar by a mob returning after performing the last rites of Gen. Haq. What a sad transformation in the two countries' relations! This incident will go down as a black spot in the two countries' relations, which right from the inception have remained warm and extremely friendly.

Curiously, unpleasant developments have taken place whenever Pak-Iran relations have seemed to be on the threshold of new horizons. Allama Afrif Hussain Al-Hussaini was gunned down when all efforts to bring Pakistan in the Arab Camp in its war against Iran had failed. Again, Ganji Dost, Director Iranian Culture Centre, Lahore was assassinated on the eve of the Iranian Parliament Speaker's visit to Pakistan. Now Gen. Haq has fallen prey after the two countries had opened a new era of economic cooperation and had almost agreed on the modalities of seeking settlement of the 13-year-old bloody Afghan conflict.

The question is why these things are happening at a particular time. There is a widespread theory that it is the handiwork of either RAW, Khad and CIA or of all combined together to derail Pak-Iran relations just when they seem to take off towards a new height. And there are no two opinions that India, Afghanistan and America have found the close Pak-Iranian ties as an impediment to their respective designs in the region.

A successful operation to sabotage Pak-Iranian ties could help Najib prolong his stay in Afghanistan, could enable India to fulfil its well-guarded and well-nourished ambition to crush Pakistan militarily (the strategic depth provided by Iran to Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 wars upset many of the India's calculations), and, finally, it would remove the last pocket of resistance against the new American world order in the Muslim Bloc.

There is another factor which cannot be ignored and which may be equally involved in this 'killing drama.' The intensification of the sectarian strife—the most devastating fallout of the 10-year-long Iran Iraq war—has now and then taxed Pak-Iranian relations. Fortunately, sectarian strife has not become an irritant in Pak-Iranian relations, but it could become one if the situation is not controlled now. It should not be surprising at all if the bigots from both the sects—Sunni and Shia—have been used by the interested quarters to tread this mad path. After all, a particular embassy is reported to be lavishly distributing funds among such elements.

This brings us to moves for the enforcement of Shariah in the country. Unfortunately, the matter has not so far been dealt with intelligently and wisely. It has widened cleavages among the various sects and disturbed sectarian harmony. Pakistan must keep in mind that the sectarian situation within the country can have a bearing on its relations with its important neighbours, which, in turn, could put in jeopardy its security environment.

Pakistan found its relations with Iran rewarding during its wars with India. Similarly, Iran would not have been able to resist the combined Arab, Iraqi and U.S. onslaught during the Gulf war had there been no friendly Pakistan to its east. Some have argued that Islamabad was found somewhat wanting in returning in full the support it had owed to Iran. However, Pakistan's role was commendable during the Iranians hour of trial, and Tehran fully appreciated it.

Pakistan has been served well by its close relationship with the People's Republic of China and Iran. How much these relations helped Pakistan to weather storms is now a matter of history. But the same cannot be said in the case of the United States which has been doling out favours to Islamabad, when it had served its purpose, but turning its back whenever Pakistan found itself in troubled waters.

Close relations with China and Iran should remain a cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy. There is no other viable opinion for Islamabad. This may not suit

Bush's new world order, but it is something which Pakistan must preserve at all costs.

There has been senseless talk of the necessity of performing a balancing act in conducting our foreign policy. Arab countries are very dear to us and we need to have the best of relationships with them. But we cannot equate these relationships with our ties with Iran. Iran is our strategic ally and partner in mutual security arrangements. (There has been no formal treaty between the two to this effect, but in practice this has been the case.) Arab countries with all their love and affection for Pakistan cannot play the rescue role for us. Geography bars them from playing any such role.

Deep-rooted as Pak-Iranian ties are, it is hoped that the two countries will overcome the implications of the sad happenings in Peshawar. What, however, is perturbing is the fact that Pakistan is not always on the dot in managing its foreign affairs. As a matter of fact, it has tumbled too often here. Pakistan does not have many friends around the globe, and it must retain the few that it has.

Call for Close Ties to Central Asian Republics

92AS0040H Lahore *THE NATION* in English
18 Sep 91 p 7

[Article by Khalid Waheed: "Destiny Knocks at Our Door"; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] "Geopolitics" has always been primarily or largely dictated by economic interests, even when camouflaged under various guises. Now and in the future it will be much more pure and simple economic interest dictating the 'Emerging World Order,' specially since ideology has been desanctified and the explosive change to our north in the USSR is potentially good friends and peaceful allies have established new imperatives for Pakistan's destiny.

Recent government policy in developing friendship with the USSR and also seeking to establish friendly ties with the Central Asian Republics is based on realities and will Inshallah produce economic benefit for the people.

Pakistan needs a clear, ambitious economic diplomacy. We must now boldly take the initiative and care out our own regional market or commonwealth. A greater Pakistan/Central Asian Economic Commonwealth. Pakistan must perforce take the lead. This is essential for our survival and we have a God-given opportunity to seize our heritage.

Just as ideology has lost its luster, so has war for all but a few belligerents wanting to extend hegemony.

Our forefathers left us the rich heritage of a Commonwealth based on free movement and trade spanning Transoxiana, Central and South Asia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Iran, and the Muslim republics from Azerbaijan to Kazakhstan down to Karachi.

The world need not fear the Pan-Islamism of Allama Iqbal and Sir Syed as it is not the "fundamentalist bogey" but a tolerant modern alliance of ethnic, brotherly, homogenous Muslim peoples. It should be obvious to the world that the current upheavals are by no means "fundamentalist" revivals, nor religious *jehads*, but clearly ethno-cultural movements, catalysed primarily by economic self-interest. They are not even religious but based on age-old rivalries and antipathies that forced mergers and repressions in forgotten empires. The old "isms" and diplomacy based on ideological confrontation, are no longer relevant. New thinking and freedom and equality instead of exploitation and oppression are the hallmarks of Gorbachev's and Yeltsin's *Perestroika*. And it is this new climate which has become an important factor in world development.

The crisis and gravity of its economic situation and the disparity between the European USSR and Central Asia continue to widen. Just last week a new dimension has been added to the degree of independence and latitude of action granted to the republics which carry great promise for co-existence and cooperation.

President Gorbachev has the wisdom to understand the aspirations of the peoples of the Union Republics and the ability to find the best solutions to problems that have remained dormant for over half a century. The way is now open to our historical region to find its destiny...deeply entwined with the destiny of Pakistan and Afghanistan and Kashmir and Iran and Central Asia.

The ambition and desire of Russians has always been, and is more so today, to be one with Europe. This dream cannot come true with the excess baggage of Central Asia and its millions of Muslims. Joining Europe or indeed with any regional grouping, implies complete freedom of movement of peoples as a prime element of any economic union.

European Russia is the richest part of the Soviet Union and the real heart of the Soviet Empire. Ukraine, the richest agricultural area in the Soviet Union and the Caucasus region are no impediment to entry to Europe and will only enrich and even facilitate the entry of European Russia and other Christian and European republics entering Europe. The Urals, Siberia and the Soviet Arctic are rich in natural resources, valuable assets to a European oriented USSR.

However, the republics and the people of the Soviet Central Asia are unlikely to be given entry implying the free run of or even access to Europe. And their weight will act as an anchor for the USSR to the extent of denying it entry to Europe.

The end of the "great game" meddling with the destiny of Afghanistan and the disappearance and irrelevance of "empires" and the aftermath of this last ten year war and the last few days' upheaval, could well be solved by co-operation and development of a commonwealth which includes Central Asia, Afghanistan and Pakistan and Iran.

All of Kashmir's natural routes, its very veins and arteries flow to and through Pakistan. An ideal trading partner, its development providing gainful employment, reviving free movement, reuniting divided families must be guaranteed by a common market with Pakistan down and through Karachi.

The future development of our own Northern Areas, Chitral, Hunza, Ladakh and Nagar, etc., is intimately tied up with a bold out-thrust in forging a Pan-Islamic Central and South Asian common market.

Balochistan has for too long remained on the isolated periphery of socioeconomic development. Neglect has radicalised Baloch sentiment. It is high time Balochistan is brought into the mainstream of development and the new ethno-centrity of our proposed Greater Pakistan-Central Asian commonwealth will immediately result in the development of Balochistan as the highway of commerce.

This focus must take into consideration the development of our long coastline and development of North-South routes that fulfil everyone's dreams. Afghanistan and indeed the Soviet Union must start to think in terms of a post-war Afghanistan and need not scheme any more for access to warm waters. Instead we must all join hands in development for mutual self-interest, making this, our region a strong and viable common market.

The war-time development of Central Asian links right down to the borders of the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and Balochistan and ultimately building of infrastructure across Balochistan to the coastal area would be to everyone's benefit.

Foreign policy and Diplomacy must urgently be reshaped and redirected with the ultimate objective of enabling and bringing about an association or commonwealth described above. This primarily means fostering cooperation and joint efforts in nearly all spheres, except and excluding defence and ensuring non-interference in one another's political structure and sovereignty.

We should urgently direct all efforts to bringing about peace in Afghanistan. In the aftermath of war, Afghanistan's rebuilding and quest for economic betterment, and even its survival is intimately tied to close cooperation with Pakistan and efforts at mutual development which can be not only peaceful but most rewarding. Afghanistan can restore its economic position only through friendly and cooperative effort in peaceful co-existence and mutually beneficial development with Pakistan.

Outdated strategies for capturing or blocking routes and access to the Indian Ocean/Persian-Arab Gulf can now be abandoned in favour of the common weal and of the greater Central and South Asian commonwealth. The unnatural blockage of the great routes of international commerce and trade has been largely responsible for

consigning this region, the heart of the world, to economic oblivion. That great engineering feat, the Karakorum Highway, the Silk and the riverine routes and the ports and the railroads and the roads and highways can all be woven into a dynamic network of development and self-sufficiency. Railroads and highways can knit together the great Central Asian and Pakistan common market through Afghanistan and Kashmir.

Central Asian leaders and scholars, including Professor G. Hidayatov of Tashkent University have issued a clarion call for the revival of the Termez-Peshawar trade links and described the attractiveness of a common market incorporating the southern republics, Pakistan, and Afghanistan and said that this holds enormous benefits for Asia.

Pakistan's rail network can connect with the Central Asian network to the mutual benefit of, and indeed escapes from poverty for, Afghanistan and Balochistan and Central Asia connected by railways and roads all the way from the Caspian Sea to Sinkiang and on down to Karachi.

While sorting out relations and seeking peace and mutual development in Afghanistan, we must immediately establish air links between Peshawar, Islamabad and the capitals of the Central Asian republics. Ideology being a dead horse, neither of us need fear contamination but can immediately use this modern form of transportation as a catalyst for developing cooperation, trade, tourism, and the essential togetherness and friendship. Tourism must be encouraged between and among the Central Asian and other friendly nations, specially those forming our new proposed commonwealth. Unrestrained travel and free movement, on the immediate term by air and followed by developing road and rail links.

All steps should be taken to enable free movement of goods among and between the various republics eliminating all barriers to the extent that they obstruct such free movement. Along with this would have to be implemented a harmonisation of import tariffs and of tariff protection with goods that are manufactured within the region attracting zero rates of tariff. Other measures should include common external trade policies establishment of origins rules and development of joint transport services.

Investment and Financial services including banking, securities, insurance should be freely allowed across the borders within the commonwealth with efforts leading to developing a single market for all financial services. Small business investments should be encouraged across the internal borders. Securities may be freely traded within the commonwealth and efforts made to lead to the establishment of an inter-linkage of stock exchanges leading to widespread share ownership by the peoples of the commonwealth.

For free capital movement between and among the countries of the commonwealth we need to adopt a

common exchange unit and then develop a joint currency. This could be in the form of currency notes printed with the local currency equivalent on one side and its inter commonwealth equivalent on the other side. Perhaps this common currency could well be promoted to be the Pak Rupee (Kaldar).

Massive efforts should be made to jointly develop telecommunications throughout the commonwealth and for joint exploration and development of oil and gas and mineral resources and establishment of pipelines within and between the countries in the commonwealth and to and from Karachi and other parts on the Mekran Coast as the principle ports of the commonwealth. Joint development of Karachi and other ports on the Mekran coast and all forms of inter-model transport to mutual benefit for inward and outward trade of the entire commonwealth should also be undertaken. Joint development of power grids and sharing of and joint ventures in power generation and transmission should easily follow.

The Capital of this new common market, the Brussels and Paris of Central Asia, may easily be established in that ancient and historic queen city, Peshawar.

Editorial Alerts Government to Potentials With Japan

92AS01401 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
2 Oct 91 p 6

[Editorial: "A Japanese View of Our Credibility"]

[Text] The Japanese ambassador in Pakistan Mr. Muraoka while addressing the Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Lahore on Monday, said, "The Japan government feels that the Nawaz Sharif government will not survive any longer." He went on to say that this was also his personal impression. He added that, "Japan's investors are not interested to invest in Pakistan because of three major incidents i.e. the kidnapping of Japanese students, cancellation of Toyota Company licence and postponements of the Prime Minister's visit to Japan. The Japanese envoy said Japanese investors were looking for a suitable country to invest in and if Pakistan became a politically stable and peaceful country, it would be an ideal choice for them. Mr. Muraoka made it clear that Pakistan was still one of the best and most suitable countries in this region for foreign investment for various reasons. It is abundantly clear that this country does not hold any terrors for Japanese investors, only the policies of the incumbent government.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif and his government should take time to consider why it became necessary for the Japanese government to express disapproval of their policies through its envoy to this country and at an important place like the Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry at that. Perhaps it would be an exercise in futility to remind the prime minister that this time such scathing criticism is not being directed against his government by the Opposition in the country but from a

country with which Pakistan has the best of diplomatic relations and wherefrom it hopes to attract much foreign investment. It should also be a matter of no small concern that such harsh censure has originated with the Japanese, at all times the most cautious and courteous of people.

Today there is no technology in the world in which Japan takes a backseat to any other nation in the world. Barring technologies which cannot be transferred to Pakistan because of international agreements, the Japanese are willing to pass on other expertise to Pakistan and this can only be to the ultimate benefit of this country. The Japanese envoy has specifically mentioned cooperation in respect of the garment industry. If only the policies of the present government had not ended up in messing up things to the extent they have, here was a golden opportunity for us to gain through meaningful cooperation with the Japanese. It is still not too late for our government to try and assure the Japanese that the situation is not irretrievable and for our part we shall try and eliminate all cause for concern that the Japanese government may have. In order for this to be done, our policy makers at the Centre will have to go in for serious introspection and revise their policies drastically.

Technical Cooperation With China Expands

Helping Set Up Light Industry

91AS1559A Karachi JANG in Urdu 1 Sep 91 pp 1, 11

[News Report: "China To Set Up Light Industry in Pakistan"]

[Text] Islamabad (APP)—Zen Zian Lin, Chinese minister of light industry who is visiting Pakistan with the Chinese deputation, met with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and discussed plans for industrial and technical cooperation. The Chinese minister expressed his pleasure at the friendly relations between the two countries and expressed his hope that these relations will continue in the future. The President echoed these feelings and told the minister that Pakistan's foreign policy was based on good relations with China. He said that Pakistan gave much importance to this relationship and it was something that other countries should emulate. The President thanked him for the Chinese support for Pakistan's independence and self-sufficiency. He referred to the factories that were installed with China's help. He asked the Chinese minister to investigate the possibilities of more cooperative ventures and to see how the production of existing factories can be increased. The Chinese minister agreed with the President. Federal minister for production, Islam Nabi, and Chinese ambassador were also present at this occasion. China has expressed willingness to help start light industry and transfer related technology. The decision on this was made during a meeting in Islamabad last Saturday between the Chinese minister for light industry and Ghulam Nabi. In that meeting, areas in which China can transfer technology

for starting light industry to help Pakistan were identified. It was noted in this meeting that Pakistan and China can start cooperative ventures in making electric fans, air conditioners, electronic instruments, auto bicycles, elevators, hand pumps for deep water wells, and food processing in the private sector. Islam Nabi said that China has also offered major cooperation in the area of heavy industry and defense which is commendable.

Missile Technology Transfer

91AS1559B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 3 Sep 91 p 8

[News Report: "China Will Not Yield to Any Pressure To Prevent Supply of Missile Technology to Pakistan"]

[Text] Islamabad (Correspondent)—Mr. Zang, the Chinese charge d'affaire in Pakistan, said that the events in the Soviet Union will not have any effect on China. He said that he was not surprised at the recent changes in the Soviet Union because he knew that the Soviet economic policies would result in failure. The Chinese embassy's charge d'affaire told the NAWA-I-WAQT yesterday during the farewell party given in honor of the departing first secretary Sun Yu Zi that the Chinese Communist Party will continue its usual role in China. He said that some countries wanted to control all the Third World countries including China. He assured that China will not let this happen. He was asked if China will change its plans to supply missile technology to Pakistan because of pressure from some nations. He replied that China was going to fulfill all its promises to Pakistan and will not change any policy because of some pressure and no one should doubt it. In answer to a question, the Chinese consular said China was going to procure a nuclear power plant as promised and that both countries were discussing this agreement now. He said that China's friendship with Pakistan was based on solid grounds and will continue.

F-7 Planes Purchased

91AS1559C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 4 Sep 91 pp 1, 6

[News Report: "China To Sell 40 F-7 Planes"]

[Text] Islamabad (Radio News)—Pakistan has decided to buy 40 more F-7 planes from China to strengthen its air force. The F-7 planes were introduced to Pakistan Air Force last year to replace the MIG-29 fighter planes. These have been modified to meet the needs of present air warfare. According to a HINDUSTAN TIMES report, the United States had agreed with Mrs. Benazir Bhutto to sell Pakistan 60 F-16 planes during her visit to that country in 1989. However, because of the Pressler amendment, the United States did not only cancel this deal but also stopped selling spare parts to the F-16 planes in Pakistan's present fleet.

Commonwealth Connection Reexamined*92AS0161J Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
19 Oct 91 p 7*

[Article by Masroor Syed: "Pakistan and the Commonwealth"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Commonwealth of Nations—a voluntary association of independent states that were once part of the British Empire—has been an important instrument for the rulers of Pakistan.

It was in 1972 that the then Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto quit its membership in a protest to block the entry of newly emerged Bangladesh. It was no doubt a face-saving exercise to wash the stigma of defeat and amputation of the eastern wing of the country.

It was mistake upon mistake as India got a free hand in the Commonwealth to malign Pakistan. An important international forum was lost by Pakistan to voice its concerns and counter vicious Indian propaganda. The decision to abandon the Commonwealth was based on emotions and not on realistic analysis of the prevalent international environment at that time. External environment is an important factor in foreign policy decision making. This was totally ignored as the international environment was not in Pakistan's favour. Aid from the West had been severed as punishment for fighting a war with India. Moreover the isolation tarnished Pakistan's image at international level as it had enhanced the number of its opponents in the Commonwealth fold.

No doubt withdrawal from the Commonwealth did give a boost to the nationalist, patriotic and anti-imperialistic image of Z. A. Bhutto—another facade of his incremental politics—but it did no good to the country.

His daughter Benazir Bhutto, when she rose to power after 11 years of struggle against the martial law regime of the late General Ziaul Haq, again knocked at the doors of the Commonwealth. Though she was well known to the West she still wanted to build her image at international level. It was the euphoria of rising to eminence after a long struggle from where her father was taken to the gallows by the martial law regime. Besides she wanted to draw the West's attention to how she had ousted the fundamentalists as her countrymen had chosen her their leader. It was bewildering for the West to see a woman heading an Islamic state which was to them fundamentalist by all definitions.

Benazir wanted credit from the people of Pakistan by taking it back into the folds of the Commonwealth; at the same time she tried to gather more international clout. It was to tell the military, bureaucracy and the so-called Islamists that she enjoyed the backing of the West for her democratic image; that she could cash in on this image; and that any attempt to destabilise her government would not be warranted by the democratic nations in the world.

Our Information Ministry was activated to give maximum coverage to 'Benazir in the Commonwealth' episode. The opening session of the Commonwealth meeting was telecast live from the Malaysian capital to flash Benazir back at home.

Nobody questioned why the father quit and the daughter joined again. The rationale of rejoining the Commonwealth given by the Benazir government was that it would give a boost to the staggering economy and open the doors of new donors for the country. It was a freakish excuse as Britain's membership in the European Community had already weakened the preferential trade system central to the unity of the association.

The Commonwealth of Nations has been just a symbol of cooperation between the independent states that were once parts of the British Empire. Queen Elizabeth is recognised as "the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth." Some members—India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Cyprus, and Ghana—have become republics and no longer accept the British sovereign as their national head of state.

For Pakistan it matters little to be or not to be in the Commonwealth as it cannot serve its purposes. It cannot save its economy from a collapse or come to its rescue when in danger from the Big Brother. What it can do comes in the purview of the low politics area. It can work in the areas of development assistance, trade, investment and economic advice, environment, human rights, science and technology and human resources development. This all amounts to supplementing United Nations' various agencies working in most of the countries.

As the Commonwealth heads of states are discussing the future role of the association in Harare they must keep in mind the problems of the poor countries and think of adopting a just trade mechanism for them so that they can be integrated into world economy and achieve self-reliance. Trade deficit and debt are the monstrous problems which hamper any development in these countries and if the Commonwealth can do something to improve their lot then it has a rationale to exist. For this it will have to assume an active role and abandon a long docility. It will have to address the problems of the countries like Pakistan, India and Bangladesh and should devise effective means to help end tensions between them through bringing them to the dialogue table and resolve their mutual disputes.

The Commonwealth should strive for becoming a model of cooperation rather than just a symbol of cooperation. It is at the same time binding on all the member countries to avail this opportunity for a better tomorrow.

Regional Affairs

Claim of Improving Relations With India Attacked

Only Wishful Thinking

91AS1561A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 28 Aug 91 p 5

[Editorial: "Wishful Thinking About India"]

[Text] Foreign Secretary Shaheryar Khan is very pleased with his trip to India and also very impressed with the Indian leaders. He had visited India as the prime minister's special ambassador. He declared his visit very effective and constructive during his talks with the newsmen last Sunday evening. He said that he did not see the "clouds of war" during his trip to India and advised everyone to be careful about what they say in the speeches they give to the public so that the relations between the two countries can improve. It would be great if Shaheryar Khan is right and the relations between the two countries are going to improve. That is what the people of Pakistan and the government wants. When Mohammed Ali Bogra became prime minister after Khawaja Nazimuddin's dismissal, he started calling the late Pandit Nehru his elder brother in hopes of improving relations with India and resolving the Kashmir issue. The "elder brother," however, never extended a friendly hand toward the "younger brother." Many other Pakistani rulers and leaders tried to improve relations with India and all of them were disappointed. We agree that relations with India can be definitely improved. However, according to India, Pakistan has to meet some conditions. It has to forget the Kashmir issue and accept the occupied areas as an integral part of India. It has to recognize India as the reigning superpower in South Asia and conform its foreign policy according to India's wishes. Pakistan has to ignore massacre of Indian Muslims and destruction of their worship places and consider them as India's internal affair. The relations will improve the very day Pakistan agrees to accept these conditions. However, the people of Pakistan and the government are not willing to compromise their self-respect and national pride. India can start a war against Pakistan any time over the Sikh unrest in East Punjab and the present crisis within that country just to unite the people and raise their faith in the government. In addition, we cannot ignore the presence of the Israeli commandos in Kashmir and concentration of Indian troops on Pakistan's border and the Control Line. Indian President Venkataraman's recent visit to occupied Kashmir also points to India's evil designs. Therefore, the foreign secretary and the foreign ministry should not have such misconceptions about India.

War Still Possible

91AS1561B Karachi AMN in Urdu 27 Aug 91 p 2

[Editorial: "How Long Will We Ignore Facts?"]

[Text] Foreign Secretary Shaheryar Khan told the newsmen after his return from visiting India as a special

ambassador of the prime minister that he did not see any "clouds of war" during his trip to India. He shared the plans to improve relations between India and Pakistan. The foreign secretaries of both countries will meet to discuss various causes of dispute on 17 September. He advised the leaders of both countries to be careful in making speeches and statements. Meanwhile, according to the news received from occupied Kashmir, India has amassed 250,000 soldiers at the cease-fire line. President Venkataraman has also visited the state and ordered the front-line soldiers to be prepared for a war. The statements issued by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and other leaders during Foreign Secretary Shaheryar Khan's visit also hint of the possibility of a war. None of these had even a hint of understanding. Against this background, Shaheryar Khan's not seeing any "clouds of war" during his visit to India is doing nothing but ignoring the facts.

We believe that such statements by a person holding a responsible position as foreign secretary is nothing but an attempt to prove former General Aslam Beg's warnings wrong and to ridicule them. The people should be told the facts so that they and the government are prepared to fight against aggression.

It is true that there is need for diplomacy and it is necessary to ignore facts at times according to the rules of diplomacy. However, it does not mean to keep the people and the government in the dark.

The Prime Minister should analyze the conflict among the statements issued by the Indian Prime Minister, the President, and other leaders and our foreign secretary. Our Prime Minister should ask the foreign secretary to clarify his stand. He should take our elected representatives into confidence and call a joint session of the Parliament to discuss the mobilization of Indian troops on the cease-fire line and the situation created by these war preparations. An important department such as foreign ministry should not be left vacant at such a critical time. An astute politician should be appointed to this important position without considering his party allegiance. This will help present Pakistan's stand on the international level correctly.

Nawaz, Rao Agree To Resolve Kashmir Dispute

92AS0161D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Oct 91 p 12

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi: "Nawaz, Rao for Peaceful Solution of Disputes"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Harare, Oct. 17—Without getting into "nitty gritty" in their 45 minute one-to-one contact both Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Indian Prime Minister Narsimha Rao have agreed to resolve all outstanding issues including Kashmir dispute by peaceful negotiations.

Jointly addressing newsmen here on Thursday after their formal talks the two prime ministers decided to continue the process of dialogue. Describing the meeting as most successful the Indian Prime Minister said that it helped in creating a much better understanding of each other's concern and from now on it would be much easier for us to interact on various bilateral issues. "We should renew our efforts to resolve all bilateral issues by mutual discussions, the Indian Prime Minister said.

Answering a question as to the topics discussed, the Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said, "we discussed all the issues which have been there and which are still there. He said he was in agreement with his Indian counterpart that a beginning has been made and in due course of time we would be able to resolve the issues through bilateral negotiations.

Asked if the question of Kashmir was also discussed, the Indian Prime Minister said, "we have discussed all bilateral problems and agreed to continue efforts to resolve them peacefully. The Pakistan Prime Minister replying the same question said all the matters had been discussed.

When asked if the summit contact between them would lead to reduce the tension between the two nations, Narsimha Rao said tension has to be eased as both of us fully recognise that there should be less and less tension between the two countries. Removal of tension, he said, would pave the way to the meaningful efforts to resolve the outstanding issue, added the Pakistan Prime Minister who was asked by the Indian correspondent as to what Pakistan had specifically done to ease the tension.

Replying to a question about withdrawal of troops from Siachen area, the Indian Prime Minister said there was no time for them to go into detail.

The meeting took place at Hotel Sheraton where the Indian Prime Minister was staying. Before entering into one-to-one talk the aides for the two prime ministers also took part in the talks for about half an hour.

As the two leaders emerged out of the meeting room, the waiting newsmen and cameramen swarmed them.

Question: How were your talks, Mr Rao?

Answer: We had very friendly discussions, on all bilateral issues. "We discussed all bilateral issues. This was our first meeting. It was a get-acquainted meeting. It was very successful".

Question: Nawaz Sharif which were the issues you discussed?

Answer: "All the issues as Prime Minister Rao has just said. We have made a beginning and in due course of time we will be able to solve them".

Question: Was Kashmir issue discussed, Mr Nawaz Sharif?

Answer: All the issues. We have decided to redouble our efforts to solve all issues, and bring down tension. Before the two Prime Ministers meet, there will be other (official) meetings to pave the way.

Question: How soon you hope to reduce tension, Mr Rao?

Answer: When the talks are to be resumed, both of us believe that there should be less tension. It will help to solve the outstanding issues.

Question: What is the next step, Mr Nawaz Sharif?

Answer: We have decided to continue the dialogue, our first meeting has paved the way for continuing the dialogue.

Question: Did you discuss Siachen issue which has cost many lives, Mr Rao?

Answer: I have already said, we did discuss all issues. We did not go into details of each issue. But we touched all bilateral issues without going into their fine print.

Rao Assures Removal of Indo-Pak Tension

92AS0161H Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
19 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Harare, Oct. 18—Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao attending the Commonwealth summit here has said that he was not aware of the deployment of the Indian troops along Pakistan's southern borders.

When reminded by this correspondent at the Press conference he addressed that the deployment of these troops in a war-like position along the Sindh borders had been the major cause of tension between the two countries and the issue had been discussed on a number of occasions, the Indian Prime Minister said he was not aware of such talks which were held prior to his assumption of office. He, however, promised to look into the matter and offer his comments.

The tension between the two countries, he said, should be removed as it was essential for normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan.

When another Pakistani correspondent pointed out the continued violation of human rights in the Indian held Kashmir and India's refusal of accepting international observers in the state he said his government was not opposed to the visit by any individual or group of individuals to any part of his country—but the permission is subject to the situation prevailing in particular area because of the law and order problems and the security of the people going there.

The Indian Prime Minister opposed western moves to link the foreign assistance with the state of human rights and democracy in a particular country. He said no set formula of democracy could be ascribed to any country which has its own specific problems.

Agencies add: The Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao said Friday that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan have decided to redouble their efforts to find ways and means to solve problems confronting the two countries.

Mr Rao said that his meeting with Pakistan Prime Minister was very cordial and it was the first after both of them had assumed the offices of the Prime Minister. He said, one could not expect specific business but he could say that the outcome was very good.

Indian Spies Said Very Active

Activities Viewed

91AS1560A Karachi JANG in Urdu 30 Aug 91 p 3

[Editorial: "Activities of Indian Spies"]

[Text] According to reliable sources, Indian spies are entering Pakistan at Chulistan and scatter in various areas in Punjab. They prepare sensitive reports in cantonment areas and send them to India. At a time when India is facing failure in curbing the activities of Kashmiri freedom fighters in the occupied areas and the Sikhs are campaigning for freedom in India's Punjab, the entry of Indian spies in Punjab confirms our suspicion that after starting instigation and terrorist activities in Sindh, India is going to do the same in Punjab. The Indian Army's three unsuccessful campaigns in Punch and Neelum regions confirm our fears that Indian Government is trying to divert the attention of its people from the problems within the country and also to change world opinion because it has some evil design on Pakistan. In this situation, our government should be fully prepared at every front to make sure India's efforts are not successful.

Recruiting in Sindh

91AS1560B Karachi JANG in Urdu 21 Aug 91 p 5

[News Report: "Plans To Paralyze Defense by Recruiting Hindus"]

[Text] Jhando (Correspondent)—It was learned here that Hindus are being recruited in large numbers to departments sensitive to our security in order to paralyze the defense without anyone suspecting. Sindh's border areas are being targeted first. Our sources believe that Indian intelligence agency, "RA," is clearly involved in this conspiracy. The Hindus are fully in control of the telegraph divisions of Mirpur Khan, Thar, and Sanghad districts and some influential people have appointed a Hindu to a very sensitive and important position in the Sanghad telegraph division. His activities are very suspicious and he is reported to be closely associated with separatist groups. This high-level official in the Sanghad telegraph division has demonstrated his nepotism and pro-Hindu attitude by appointing dozens of Hindus to various positions. The increasing pro-Hindu attitude, corruption, and inefficiency in the telephone department has resulted in trunk lines being totally useless

in Mirpur Khas, Thar, and Sanghad districts. This is affecting the defense communication system also. It was learned that the federal government has imposed restrictions on hiring Hindu officers in border areas because of the increasing dangers for the country and involvement of the Hindus in pro-India activities. During the 1971 Indian-Pakistani war, Hindu government officials were relieved of their duties in border areas after the Hindu population in Thar Parkar welcomed the Indian Army. A large number of Hindus moved to India after the Indian Army occupied Thar Parkar. Even now, many Hindu families are selling their properties and moving to India with a lot of money. Hindu youth of Thar Parkar have been very active in separatist groups and burning the national flag. Now that the activities of India's intelligence agency, RA, are increasing and terrorists and instigators are being sent from Rajasthan after training them, the appointment of a Hindu to a sensitive position and subsequent recruitment of Hindus to the telegraph's Sanghad division is a cause of serious concern and endangers our country's security. Hindu supervisors are working in Muthi, Khapru, and Tandu Adam now. A highly placed Hindu officer in Sanghad division has ordered the training of about 50 Hindu young men. They are getting training in various telephone exchanges in Thar, Mirpur Khas, and Sanghad district. Hindus were also appointed to the T.O.-One operator positions while the Muslim operators who have been trained for several years are still working in lower positions. Appointments of Hindus in large number is not only affecting the efficiency of the department, it is also increasing the danger of leaking confidential government and defense department information. The telegraph officer of Sanghad is so inefficient that the telephone lines in Dhorna, Pithoru, Chhor, Tandu Ghulam Ali, Mohammed Kot, Jhadu, and Digri are not in working order and defense lines are inactive. Meanwhile, telephone lines from Jhadu, Nokot, Digri, and Kari to Karachi have been cut off without any reason. No other arrangements have been made. All phone lines are cut regularly by instigators to sabotage communications. Telephone wires weighing over 100,000 kg and costing over 10 million rupees have been destroyed in Thar, Sanghad, and Mirpur Khas districts. Six Hindus were arrested cutting telephone lines and were charged with instigatory activities. However, they were released on bail later. It is said that this telegraph and telephone officer in Sanghad is a close associate of separatist groups. He took part in a meeting of one such organization in Mirpur Khas recently. It was also learned that some government agencies have started to pay attention to the activities of this official and recruitment of Hindus to the telephone and telegraph division and have sent their reports to the federal government.

Confidence-Building Steps Between Neighbors Discussed

92AS0140E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
27 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by Aroosa Alam: "Pak-India Accord on Trust-Building Steps"]

[Text] Islamabad, Sept. 26: Military delegations of India and Pakistan in their meeting at the Joint Staff

Headquarters in Rawalpindi on Thursday agreed on the need to take confidence-building measures to defuse tension between the two countries.

The meeting lasted for an hour. The Indian team was led by the Director General Military Operations, Lt. General Satish Nemayar while Lt. General Pir Dad Khan of Joint Staff Headquarters led the Pakistan side. The Pakistan delegation also included Director General Military Operations, Major General Jamshed Malik.

According to reliable sources both the sides expressed concern over the escalation of tension at the Indo-Pak border, particularly on the Line of Control. They discussed the recent clashes between the armed forces of the two countries in Poonch and Neelam Valley sectors where both sides are reported to have used heavy weapons against each other.

The latest exchange of firing at Athmuqam took place when the Indian military was here for talks.

The two sides considered measures to prevent recurrence of such incidents in future. For this purpose, the Directors General Military Operations of both the countries are reported to have agreed to have more frequent contacts on the hot line to defuse the situation.

Besides border clashes, the military teams are also reported to have taken up other issues of concern for the two countries. However, sources would not comment on these issues.

Fighting Forecast To Continue in Afghanistan

92AS0134B Lahore THE NATION in English
(supplement) 22 Sep 91 pp 11

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Afghanistan: Not Quite a Farewell to Arms"]

[Text] The September 13 announcement in Moscow regarding agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on negative symmetry for Afghanistan, whereby both will end military aid to their respective clients in the Afghan civil war, comes as no surprise. This agreement, arrived at 30 months after the exit of Soviet military forces from Afghanistan, should be welcomed by Pakistan and those in the region who felt that for too long both the Afghan question and Pakistan's Afghan policy were held hostage to the whims of our distant Godfathers in Washington.

Negative symmetry is a positive development in that it will help to delink the Afghan conflict from the Americans and the Russians, whose priorities, in any case, had shifted over the last couple of years and it will enable in the delinking of Pakistan's Afghan policy from the United States as well. Hopefully, negative symmetry will also push for a better rapport between Islamabad and Moscow and the Afghan Mujahideen and Moscow, since

Soviet military support to Najib's regime has been cited as the main roadblock in promoting such normalisation. Interestingly, Moscow's Afghan policy has not been a roadblock for those key allies of Pakistan on the Afghan issue like Iran, Turkey, China and Saudi Arabia who have already developed close and cordial relations with the Soviet Union, with Saudi Arabia already having supplied economic aid worth \$4 billion to Moscow during the Gulf war.

However, it should be clearly understood that negative symmetry by no means implies that peace is at hand in Afghanistan or that pressures on Pakistan will be eased as a consequence of the deinternationalisation of the Afghan conflict. In that context, it would be important to examine the timing of this decision, the unstated elements of the agreement on negative symmetry and some of the principal roadblocks that still retard the evolution of a clear and coherent Pakistani Afghan policy.

A number of factors have contributed to the timing of negative symmetry:

- The end of the United States Fiscal Year on September 30, which means that no fresh allocations for Fiscal Year 1992 for military aid to the Afghan Mujahideen will be made. The current covert US military aid for the Afghan Mujahideen, funnelled through the CIA, stands at \$250 million.
- Closer coordination between the United States and the Soviet Union in the wake of the failed coup in Moscow, with the Soviets beating a retreat on most of their international commitments in the Third World including India, Afghanistan and Cuba.
- The initiation of a Trilateral Dialogue between Pakistan, Iran and the Afghan Mujahideen, which indicates a shift towards a regional-based Afghan policy and one that is apparently aimed at getting those Afghan Mujahideen "on board" who are perceived to be "moderate."
- The resumption of Saudi military support to the "militants" among the Afghan Mujahideen like Gulbadin Hekmatyar, in a reversal of the earlier Saudi policy emerging in the immediate aftermath of the Gulf war which viewed Hekmatyar and Co. with suspicion, with this reversal having taken place in the context of the Saudi need to promote Gulbadin Hekmatyar as a countervailing force to Iran's influence on the Afghan issue.
- A clear cleavage in the ranks of the Afghan Mujahideen between "moderates" and "militants," with the former like Pir Sayed Ahmed Gailani and Pir Sibghatullah Mujaddedi cooperating in the Trilateral Dialogue, willing to "do business" with the Kabul regime and agreeable to diplomatic parleys in New York and Moscow, while the latter—the "militants"—who have substantive military force keen to "go for the kill" in Kabul.

It would also be interesting to examine some of the unstated elements that form the framework of the Soviet-American accord on negative symmetry. At least three such important but unstated elements are noteworthy.

First, the Kabul regime headed by Najibullah not only stays on in office but it is accepted as a legitimate participant in the proposed intra-Afghan dialogue which is to be convened under the United Nations auspices between Afghans belonging both to the regime and the resistance.

Second, the fact that negative symmetry is not being implemented with immediate effect and time has been given till January 1, 1992, means that countries like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, which have been supporting the Afghan resistance, have been put on notice to follow suit and the deadline of New Year's Day 1992 basically means that the Americans have assured the Russians that they expect to "deliver" on this count vis-a-vis Pakistan and Saudi Arabia by the deadline that has been set. That deadline, interestingly, also coincides with the expiry of the term of the United Nations Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar, who is re-doubling his efforts to cap his decade in office at the top slot in the UN with a peace agreement on Afghanistan, since he himself initiated the UN-led peace initiative on Afghanistan as the Special Envoy of the then UN Secretary-General way back in January 1981.

Third, an important unstated element of negative symmetry is that the "moderate" Mujahideen leadership will be given priority at the expense of "militants" like Gulbadin Hekmatyar, Yunas Khalis and Abdur Rab Rasul Sayyaf.

In an ironical replay of events that occurred at the time of the signing of the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan during the first half of 1988, which, in part, also contributed to the dismissal of the Junejo Government, this time around as well Pakistan's policy makers, civil and military, seem to have been caught unprepared for the challenges that lie ahead in the wake of the negative symmetry accord. Then too, Washington reached an agreement with Moscow and Pakistan was expected to fall in line, which it reluctantly did since the government felt it had no other option, and the result was the unravelling of Pakistan's Afghan policy carefully put together and pursued with single-minded determination since 1980.

With the announcement of negative symmetry now, again Pakistan is found wanting in having a coherent Afghan policy, with cleavages among the Mujahideen becoming sharper and the possibility of the Iran-Saudi rivalry replacing the earlier battle between what were then the two Superpowers. The Foreign Office, for instance, has been ready and willing to dump the military option and ditch Gulbadin Hekmatyar, but the ISI line is different, and this in-house divergence is likely to widen with the Foreign Office pursuing diplomacy

through a section of the Afghan Mujahideen in New York, Moscow and Tehran, while the ISI [Information Service of India] takes charge of another section of the Mujahideen on the ground.

Then the Saudis, who had earlier been rattled by Hekmatyar's line on the Gulf war and his subsequent demolition of Saudi Arabia's "boys" in the battlefield when he knocked out Moulvi Jamilur Rahman's stronghold in Asadabad ... the capital of Kunar province, now seem to have suddenly realised that the specter of expansion of Iranian influence in Afghanistan exceeds their distrust of Hekmatyar. It is precisely to review this element of Saudi Arabia's Afghan policy that the Foreign Office Secretary General, Akram Zaki, is flying to Saudi Arabia on September 22 for a 34-hour visit that is specifically aimed at seeking Saudi support for a political settlement and urging Riyadh to eschew the military option via Hekmatyar. The Foreign Office is going by the April 3, 1991, decision of the Afghan Cell which laid down the policy for supporting a political settlement in Afghanistan.

Finally, as regards an inter-Afghan dialogue, their public professions notwithstanding, the Peshawar-based Afghan Mujahideen have maintained covert contacts with the Kabul regime, with Pir Sayed Ahmed Gailani having had a personal meeting with Dr. Najib in Geneva last October and Hekmatyar's Hizbe Islami having had at least four separate meetings in Arab capitals with the ruling party in Kabul in 1989 through the good offices of Yasser Arafat. They are merely being expected to do in public what they have been pursuing in private with the Kabul regime. Although the United Nations Secretary General, Perez de Cuellar, said in Tehran on September 12 that "the key to an Afghan settlement lies in Islamabad," that "key" is sadly missing in Islamabad itself, with different sections of officialdom running in opposing directions on the elusive quest for peace in Afghanistan.

Internal Affairs

Punjab: Historic Allocation for Development Made

92AS0161F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Oct 91 p 5

[Text] Multan, Oct. 17—The Punjab finance minister, Shah Mahmood Hussain Qureshi said here that the Punjab government had made a historic allocation of Rs[rupees]10,500,000,000 for annual development programme of the province this year.

He was talking to newsmen at the airport on his arrival here from Lahore.

He said that the Punjab government had reduced non-developmental expenditure and Rs 250 crore thus saved had been allocated for development schemes in the Punjab.

To a question, the minister said that the federal government's revolutionary steps, specially the national finance commission's award, had eased the financial position of all the four provinces.

Now, he added, we could administer our financial matters more conveniently than before.

To another question, Shah Mahmood Qureshi said it was wrong to say that the Punjab Assembly had rejected the federal government's agriculture policy. Instead the unanimous resolution passed in this regard, reflected the confidence of the members in the federal government and the prime minister, Mohammad Nawaz Sharif. He said that the wrong view, being aired saying that the agriculture policy of the federal government was rejected by the Punjab Assembly, carried no weight in view of the fact that IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] governments existed both at the Centre and in the Punjab, and there was no confrontation between them.

He said that Pakistan is an agricultural country, and the Punjab province is the biggest agricultural province. We had just requested the federal government, through the resolution passed by the Punjab Assembly, for the provision of appropriate resources to our province for development of agriculture, he added.

Shah Mahmood Qureshi said that the whole world was facing the population problem and the population in our country too was increasing at the rate of 3.1 percent. If we fail to control our fast increasing population, Pakistan would become an importer of huge quantities of wheat, rice, sugar, and edible oils by the year 2000.

He said that our cotton crop, which was presently good, would also be badly affected.

The minister said that the conditions necessitated that we must control our population on war footing, on the one hand, and rapidly increase our production, by constructing dams, including the multi-purpose Kalabagh Dam, and canals.

To another question, the minister said that tax evasion was a countrywide problem and if we succeed in strictly checking tax leakages, there would, perhaps, remain no need to increase or impose new taxes.—APP

Division of Balochistan Seen Necessary

92AS0011C Karachi AMN in Urdu 1 Sep 91 p 6

[News Report: "Balochistan Should be Divided To Solve Pushtoon-Baloch Problem"]

[Text] Hakeem Shah Pushtoon, a member of the Central Council on the Six-Point Committee to establish a fifth state from Sibbi to Zaub, gave a tea party to honor Rafiq Pushtoon, central chairman of the Pushtoon National Movement, at his Tariq Road, Karachi residence. Members of the Sindh zone of the party were also present at the tea party. While addressing the party, Hakeem Shah Pushtoon said, "by the grace of God, the Six-Point

members will work around the clock and spread the message of the movement to every home between Sibbi and Zaub." Central Chairman Rafiq Pushtoon thanked all the members of the Sindh zone of the party. Rafiq Pushtoon said that the only solution to the Pushtoon problem in Balochistan was to divide Balochistan. He said that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan should issue an ordinance immediately to establish the area between Sibbi and Zaub as a fifth state called South Pushtoonkhawah. He said that the establishment of South Pushtoonkhawah was a "constitutional right of the Pushtoons." He added, "If the government of Pakistan considers us to be Pakistanis, then it should make sure we get our rights. If the central government does not recognize our rights, then the Pushtoons of South Pushtoonkhawah have the right to take action in the future. No one will be able to object to it." He said that South Pushtoonkhawah existed even during the British era, and before Pakistan was established, it was called British Balochistan. The Baloch people believed in smaller states; for example, Qilat, Makran, and Kharan. The present states were formed according to an ordinance issued by Yahaya Khan in July 1970. This ordinance was unconstitutional.

'Injustice, Intolerance of Minorities Rampant'

92AS0040C Karachi DAWN in English (Supplement)
12 Sep 91 pp 1, 2

[Article by Maisoon Hussain: "When One Is Not a Muslim"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] A sense of betrayal, at least a heightened sense of insecurity and unease pervades all sections of the non-Muslims, whether they be Christians (3.5%), Hindus (3.5%), Qadianis, Parsis and other (1%).

This stems from a step by step process to make the non-Muslims (approximately 4 million) a class apart, separate from the national mainstream—or in other words, a 'minority.'

The latest in these series of steps—including the separate electorates and Hudood Ordinances—is the Shariat Bill which, it is feared because of its supra-constitutional character, will put in jeopardy the fundamental rights of the non-Muslims.

How do the non-Muslims see themselves? "We may be a religious minority—but certainly not a political or economic minority. In all these respects we expect to be treated as equal citizens as declared in Article 25 of the Constitutions," says M.L. Shahani, advocate of the High Court and an articulate spokesman for the rights of the non-Muslims.

Sobo Granchandani, whose 50-year struggle for the rights of the downtrodden (regardless of religion, caste or ethnicity) has won him the respect of a cross-section of politicians and intellectuals, feels a sense of umbrage when he is 'limited' to being a representative of the

Sindhi Hindus only. "I consider myself not a minority, but a citizen of Pakistan," he says.

The sense of betrayal stems from the widening gap between the promise and reality. The promise was Quid-e-Azam's vision of Pakistan, a country where "...everyone of you, no matter to what community he belongs,....no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last, a citizen of this state with equal rights, privileges and obligations...you may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the state."

(Presidential address to the Constituent Assembly on 11 August 1947).

However, the reality in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan today is that rights and privileges differ if you are Muslim or not. If the latter, this is what you will face:

- If in the army, it is extremely unlikely that you will rise above the rank of a brigadier;
- If in government service, you will probably not be the head of a corporation, regardless of your merits;
- If in law, you cannot aspire for the superior judiciary (at present, there is just one non-Muslim who occupies this post);
- Your evidence in court will be half that of a Muslim and so will compensation in case of death in an accident (according to the modalities of the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance). Although, if you kill a Muslim, then you'll have to pay full compensation;
- If you happen to be Christian and seek divorce, your husband will face 100 lashes (as according to the existing Christian law you can only seek divorce on the plea of adultery, and under the Hudood Ordinances, the punishment for that is Hadd);
- If you happen to be Hindu, you will be considered a potential spy—an enemy of your motherland;
- If a Qadiani, you will open the floodgates of intolerance. Under Ordinance XX of 1984, a Qadiani could get prosecuted for simply reciting the **Kalima Tayyaba** or for its inscription in any place. Over the past year, several Ahmedis faced jail terms for simply following a creed they believed in.

In view of the discrimination in employment and promotion, some representatives of religious minorities have called for quotas. However, such demands will only prove an added block to assimilation. What's more, special privileges and acceptance as equals are a contradiction in terms. Only the downtrodden of all classes can justifiably demand quotas.

Separate electorate introduced by General Zia-ul-Haq in 1985, have alienated the non-Muslims from the mainstream. The non-Muslim must now canvass countrywide and not the compact constituencies of the Muslims. This makes it impossible say for a Christian representative to take up the grievances of Christians living in small pockets.

Again with separate electorates, the number of non-Muslim representatives in the National Assembly can only be minuscule—10 in an assembly of 207 members—hence their legislative power would be totally ineffective.

Ex-Justice Dorab Patel who hails from the tiniest section of the non-Muslims, the Parsis, and who gave up one of the country's most venerated posts for the rule of law, calls attention to yet another aspect of separate electorates: "The Muslim leaders have little interest in the non-Muslim population of their area, as they cannot gain by their votes."

It follows then that genuine problems of the non-Muslims who live in small pockets go unheeded. Says M.L. Shahani, "No protective legislation has been enacted for the kiln workers (mostly Christians) even though the Supreme Court in its judgment used the term 'slavery' to describe their work conditions, and deemed that legislation was called for.

"Similarly, the sanitary workers (again mostly Christians) who work in "Gestapo-like death chambers" are not provided insurance; or compensation to the family in case of accident."

The crux of the matter however is well summed up by Sobo Gianchandani who says: "A Christian does not really want to be represented by a Christian, or a Hindu by a Hindu—rather he seeks a genuine leader irrespective of the community he belongs to, who can alleviate his grievances."

The state's being a supporter and defender of discriminatory laws, has meant a hardening of attitudes and a definite slide towards intolerance. So that during the decade 1978 to 1988, more houses of worship of the non-Muslims have been attacked burnt or destroyed than ever before in Pakistan's history.

Why this intolerance? The long period of martial law [ML], the support sought from the orthodoxy to give legitimacy to the undemocratic rule and for the furtherance of political power, and the language of force of the ML rather than that of consensus and compromise that a democracy entails, have left their imprints. It is significant that during this period the most reactionary interpretation to Islam has been sought rather than the revolutionary teachings which would deal a blow to the feudal power class.

The intermingling of religion and politics has also contributed to a change in the national psyche in a not so desirable manner. Professor Kerar Hussain puts this across very succinctly: "The general maxim is, whenever religion is mixed with politics, religion tends to lose its spirituality and becomes a tool of politics; while politics tends to lose all wisdom and becomes a shameless scramble for power; and both reason and reverence take flight before the hounds of passion and prejudice," (from a paper read at a Convention held by the HRCP [expansion not given]).

Hence a call from certain intellectuals that religion should be limited to the personal sphere. In the affairs of the state, political wisdom should prevail.

The fury which translates itself into the desecration of churches and temples is basically the expression of perceptions, prejudices and superstitions, the myths and archetypes which we have imbibed over the years. Add to this, the misery and ignorance of the masses and you get the germination of dogmatism, intolerance and discrimination.

But from whence come these archetypes? One finger points to the obscurantists who have not lifted the masses to a higher level of social morality—they have not taught 'justice, charity and equality' as the commandment of God. Instead, they speak of God as **Rabul Muslimin**, rather than **Rab-ul Aalam** as M.L. Shahani puts it, and hence the constriction of heart and mind.

Amir Ali in *Spirit of Islam* has this prescription for enlightenment: Devotions and recitation of the holy books should be rendered in the local dialect which the people understand. This will spur critical thinking and a lessening of the power of obscurantists.

The non-Muslim leaders have failed, for their part, to rise to the occasion. They have not asserted the rights of those they represent—indeed, some have accepted the narrow gains of office instead of adopting a strident front—and they have not brought the grievances of their community to the fore of national consciousness.

What of the Future?

In country after country, when the door of justice begins to close upon a section of the populace, the door of violence springs open.

Or else, disillusionment follows and with it apathy. These nationals fail to play an active role, to contribute their energies and talents to society. The young and volatile migrate to the West, or across borders to India. For those who cannot escape, there is likely to be more despondency and frustration.

Dorab Patel sees little likelihood of a reversal process towards tolerance and an opening of minds.

"Only when more and more Pakistanis settled abroad return... only when more and more Eqbal Ahmeds and Pervaiz Hoodbhoyes present their analysis and elucidate unpopular views, will there be some change...but this process will take years..."

Professor Kerar Hussain advocates, "participating in a good cause" to promote "mutual understanding and respect."

This is not different from Sobo Gianchandani's prescription: The Sindhi Hindus, most of whom belong to the peasantry and the deprived class should unite their struggle with the downtrodden of all communities, provinces and nationalities...we cannot stand alone."

He adds: "The minority's protection lies not in number or aggressiveness, but in a reasonable approach in matters big and small. That will win them respect of custodians in the community in times of trouble. That is how the Sindhi Hindus, minorities to have lived longest in the Subcontinent, survived even the most tyrannical rule."

In a country where injustice and intolerance towards the minorities are rampant, the future of democracy is in jeopardy. For democracy is not merely majority rule otherwise Hitler's Germany would have qualified as a great democracy; equity and the treatment meted to the minorities must also be taken into consideration. To quote M.L. Shahani:

"Freedom without justice is freedom of the few to oppress the many or for the many to oppress the few."

"Freedom is not freedom unless it is coupled with justice and love."

Attacks on Christians in 'Organized Manner'

92AS0040D Karachi DAWN in English 24 Sep 91 p 15

[Bureau Report]

[Text] Lahore, Sept 23: The Pakistan Minority Forum [PMF] Convenor, Samuel Ajiz, has expressed concern at the alleged attack by armed persons on Christian residents and the ransacking of their houses and the church in the Bath village on Multan Road. He claimed that the assailants had destroyed the houses of Christians as well as their place of worship in "an organised manner."

In a statement here on Saturday, the PMF leader urged Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Hyder Wyne to institute a judicial inquiry into the Bath incident and said that such violence against the Christian population was "another proof" that the minorities were insecure in the country.

Repatriation of Biharis Opposed

92AS0134E Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in English 20 Sep 91 pp 10-11

[Article by Ahmad Bashir: "The Repatriation of Biharis"]

[Text] Because of press in Pakistan is under the control and the influence of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] and the Jamaat-i-Islami, and the political establishment is interested only in its own survival, issues which may have the potential of ripping the country apart get swept under the rug.

Volcanoes can suddenly erupt after 200 years of sleep, but when they erupt there is nothing anyone can do to stop the glow of lava and there is nothing anyone can do to escape the onslaught of rivers of toxic mud. But some major catastrophes are man made and they can certainly be stopped before the storms break. Who can stop them?

The government in power which makes policies. But the history of Pakistan shows that governments in power have been suffering from sleeping sickness. As if Pakistan does have enough on its plate, the volcano of the repatriation of Biharis is being energised by the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government to appease the power brakers of the MQM and the Jamaat-i-Islami. It wants to survive another day, but it is building its little hut in the path of the lava. The fires will burn long after it is swamped in the mud following it.

According to press reports, the repatriation of Biharis, from Bangladesh will begin within this year. How many are they? About two million, according to Benazir Bhutto, and three million, according to Taj Mohammad Langah of the Seraiki Party. The Nawaz Sharif government, the MQM, and the Jamaat-i-Islami, have been mischievously silent about the exact figure. Where are they to be settled? How much will the new hijrat cost Pakistan? Nobody knows. The settlement of two to three million one mohajirs will require large tracts of land for settlement, its levelling the building of residential colonies, roads, markets, schools and hospitals, the supply of energy, including gas and electricity, installation of tubewells, provision for agricultural and industrial finance and bank loans, employment for the unemployed, and what have you in your mind. How can Pakistan afford their costs, not counting the costs of their transportation from Bangladesh to Bahawalpur. But that is not the worst part of it.

The worst part of the repatriation of the Biharis is that they will always live as mohajirs in Pakistan, and because of their cultural inhibitions, they will never identify themselves with the Seraikis giving rise to new social contractions.

The Biharis migrated to East Pakistan because they were driven out of their Indian homes by the Hindu chauvinists of Bihar. They were welcomed with open arms, but they refused to be assimilated in Bengal and returned to their cultural and political exclusiveness. After the fall of Dhakka, they rejected Bengali citizenship, and began to demand repatriation to West Pakistan which they had never visited. Their kith and kin had lived and proposed in Karachi and Hyderabad. They wanted repatriation for better opportunity in life from then until now, they have lived in camps and suffered enormously. On a human level one's heart bleeds for them, but why did they not accept the land and the culture of Bengal, which had given them protection and hope? Most of them never learnt Bengali. It was just like our Karachi and Hyderabad mohajirs. Most of them are sons of the soil having been born in Pakistan, but they have refused to learn any Pakistani language or appreciate any of the local cultures, insisting on calling themselves mohajirs, fight for their special group interests. Now they claim to be a nation. They control the administration of Sindh. All sensitive government positions are manned by their henchmen. Not a straw moves without the consent of the Pir of Azizabad. Trained terrorists, bomb throwers, and murderers, recruited from the educated unemployed and

from universities and colleges, are on the pay roll of the MQM. The press is under their heels. They are an important component of the Jam Sadiq coalition, and the IJI coalition at the centre is at their mercy. Not because they can topple it. But because they can give a bloodbath to the urban centres of Sindh. Did they surrender their illegal arms?

No, the illegal arms were legalised by issuing the MQM thousands of nameless licences. (Names were to be added by Altaf Bhai.) He now wants the repatriation of Biharis in order to add to his ethnic numbers, and to turn ethnic Sindhis into a minority in their ancestral land and that will ultimately force the division of Sindh.

The Sindhis knew the game and in self defence, are not willing to accept a fresh influx of the new mohajirs. To put their minds at rest for a while, Mian Nawaz Sharif decided to settle them in the Seraiki belt. It is politically and economically a backward area which has never come up with organised public opinion. It would offer no problem. Its lands have been taken away by abadkars from the central Punjab, the mohajir allottees of properties left behind by the Hindus, and the armed forces. What is now left is to go to the Biharis. The support that they are likely to get in their settlement has never been available to the Seraikis. Another privileged class of abuse is to be imposed on them, but now there is resentment, it is bound to turn into anger and their anger will be violent. The land of Khawaja Farid will burn. When Mian Nawaz Sharif decided to settle the Biharis in the Seraiki area, did he know what he was talking about?

The MQM and the Jamaat-i-Islami are happy over the arrangement because both know that the Biharis, after settlement in the Seraiki belt will sell their properties and residences as soon as they can, and move over to the urban centres of Sindh for resettlement. That is the MQM's best bet. The best bet of the Jamaat-i-Islami is different. It has been beaten out of Karachi and Hyderabad by the terrorists of Altaf Bhai. It has been snaking [as published] but it knows that the Biharis are more religiously inclined. The Jamaat hopes to draw from their ranks fresh recruits for its Al Shams and Al Badar terrorist corps to settle the scores with the MQM thundersquads. There will be blood-shed all over, with ethnic Sindhis in the crossfire. Does Mian Nawaz Sharif know what he is bargaining for? He may not be there to reap the bitter harvest, but if he is sowing the wind, Pakistan will have to reap the whirlwind. Does anybody care?

I have nothing against the Biharis or the mohajirs. Half of my family is Urdu-speaking and all of us believe that everybody is entitled to his cultural prejudices and preferences. But the question of Biharis is different. We in the Punjab are not sensitive to the influx of strangers. That is our history. Anybody may come here and settle down. The Punjab will accept him. The Urdu-speaking mohajirs who have settled in the Punjab do not speak Punjabi. The Punjabis are only too willing to speak Urdu. There is no cultural problem here. But in Sindh, Urdu means domination over everything Sindhi.

including physical resources of the land. In Sindh, the pursuit of peace and progress for the individual has become exclusive preserve of the mohajir. Altaf Bhui has built his power through terrorism, an approach he borrowed from the Jamaat. That is what frightens everybody, including the government of Mian Nawaz Sharif. The repatriation of Biharis will give impetus to violence as the arbiter of the nation's destiny. The Biharis are now called standard Pakistanis. That gives the issue a sentimental face. They were Pakistanis when Bangladesh was Pakistan where they had settled. Now that East Pakistan has become Bangladesh they are Bangladeshis as good as any. If they are stranded Pakistanis, then all Bengalis are stranded Pakistanis, so let us welcome all of them. The Indian Muslim are stranded Pakistanis too, since Indian Muslims voted for Pakistan in 1945-46. Let us open our doors for all the Indian Muslims. What is so special about the Biharis of Bangladesh?

The migration of Indian Muslims to Pakistan has been continuous, and Altaf Bhui knows it. I recently read a small news item saying that in the year 1989, about one lakh Indian Muslims who had come to Pakistan on visit visas, got lost in Sindh. They never went back.

The MQM sees to it that our Indian visitors get Pakistani identity cards when they want to settle down. That is the first stage. This done, the provision of a job or the allotment of a residential plot is all that would need make them Pakistani citizens, more privileged, because of their 'mohajir' caste and class. They can get what they want. The Biharis from Bangladesh have been regularly trickling down, but what Altaf Bhui now demands is an influx.

The Sindhis will not let that happen. Bomb blasts have already begun in Karachi and Hyderabad. The Seraikis will not accept them.

There will be trouble in that peaceful land. The Punjabis must speak up. Pakistan cannot afford the invasion. Its social fabric will be torn to pieces. The Sindhi demonstration in Lahore was not adequately prepared. They should not sit and sulk. They should analyse the issue, work out the economic, political, sociological and cultural costs of the repatriation of Biharis and show how it is going to affect the destiny of Pakistan. Because it is not only Sindh which will suffer. They should talk to their elected representatives. They should inform the broad masses of the Punjab, NWFP [North-West Frontier Province], Balochistan, and Sindh. Their bomb blasts cannot match the bomb blasts of Altaf Bhui. They should argue their case. The Punjab will give them support. They will give them support. They have a just cause.

Brutal Treatment of Government Strikers Condemned

92AS0002E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
19 Sep 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Hitting Below the Belt"]

[Text] The police resorted to baton charge on the peaceful striking employees of the Punjab government as

they assembled in the Punjab Civil Secretariat, to press for the acceptance of their demands. As a result of the police action which was conducted under the orders of the Deputy Commissioner and the SSP [Superintendent of Police?], Lahore, more than 20 employees were injured. The police also arrested six office-bearers of the Punjab Civil Secretariat Employees Coordination Council. The action was ordered without issuing any warning and the police conducted the operation ruthlessly. The whole issue shrieks out loud and clear of the callous and brutal attitude of the Punjab administration against the lower cadres of the Secretariat staff. Whenever collective action is resorted to it always has logic behind it. The grievances of the employees must have been of a serious nature to have prompted them to strike work. In the circumstances, it was incumbent on the Punjab government to discuss their problems with them instead of resorting to brutal force.

Bureaucrats of the higher cadres, that is, from Grade 18 upwards have always lorded it over right royally where the lower cadres are concerned and these latter always end up with the dirty end of the stick. Not only are they paid just enough to keep body and soul together, other perks which might come their way are so negligible as to be pathetic. To add injury to insult, when they do come out with a demonstration or go on strike, they are subjected to police brutality. It is amazing how cruel the higher powers can be towards these people who make the work of their superiors easy. Granted that it is beneath the dignity of the superior bureaucrats to thank the lower Secretariat staff for the hard work they put in so that the burra sahebs [superiors] can take life easy but the least they can do is accede to the genuine demands of the juniors.

The demands now being presented by the Punjab Civil Secretariat staff are by no means unreasonable. After all, they are only demanding implementation of what has already been promised. Where is the crime in that? If for unavoidable reasons the Punjab government is not in a position to honour a commitment made, it should seek time from its employees to eventually come good on its promises. However, subjecting government employees to physical violence in the manner of common criminals is just not right.

Violence Against Journalists Deplored

Called 'Terrorist Actions'

92AS0130A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 29 Sep 91 p 8

[Article by Hassan Mujaba: "Violence Against Press: Interior Singh Newsmen Cry for Support"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Hyderabad—Infamous Unar case story-fame Kamran Khan, a senior investigative reporter of THE

NEWS, who had broken a highly startling but objective investigative report on the high-handedness of officials of the Criminal Investigation Agency (CIA), Karachi, nowadays, a notorious police torture house reminiscent of concentration camps of Gestapo at Nazi Germany during the World War-II, was stabbed by unidentified assailants on Monday last, true to a Sindh proverb, 'the child who plays alongside the lake has to be drowned, one day.'

Hardly, a couple of days after this incident a female journalist of the DAWN narrowly escaped from some other assailants waiting for her at her door step.

These two journalists have had to face a physical violence in wake of ongoing terrorisation against press and pressmen including the threats to THE FRONTIER POST by the Sindh chief minister twice in a day during his last month's visit to Sindh interior, and his (Sindh CM's [Chief Minister]) using derogatory Sindh words against the APNS in reaction to its (APNS [All Pakistan Newspapers Society]) warning in case of his threats to THE FRONTIER POST.

The physical violence against Kamran Khan, Nafeesa Hoodbhoy by unidentified assailants, as well as harassment of the press by known but highly responsible dignitaries in the province, has received a timely reaction from all the journalist communities and the APNS. All the member newspapers of the APNS have agreed to observe one day strike today.

Both, Kamran Khan and Nafeesa Hoodbhoy (ever first female victim of violence against the press in Pakistan's history) had publicly been threatened by No. 1 and 2 at the top of Sindh administration on more than two occasions.

The pressmen in Sindh interior, who had been much familiar with the violence against the press either by government agencies or the opposition parties, too, have strongly protested against the attacks on the journalists.

But, to some extent, they wonder, why don't these people so react in case of naked torture against their fellow journalists in Sindh interior? A number of journalists of interior Sindh questioned.

The pressmen at Sindh interior had always been targeted, sometimes, by ethnic as well as political frenzy of armed activists. They remain an easy prey to the guns of power mongers, sycophants.

A Sindhi journalist Aftab Nizamani was the first victim of ethnic frenzy of urban terrorists during the Sindhi-Mohajir strife in June-88. While three Urdu-speaking journalists Ahmed Kamal, Ali Muthair and Raahat Kazmi were gunned down by extremist nationalist groups at Larkana and Sukkur, respectively.

Mohammad Ali Khalid, the editor of local Urdu daily, was yet another victim of a major intelligence agency.

Over a dozen of Sindhi journalists of interior Sindh were tortured, jailed, and constantly harassed by police, political workers, and henchmen of waderas during the current year.

Nafeesa Hoodbhoy of the DAWN, who is also a noted woman and human rights activist, had been receiving death threats from the brother of a jailed ex-PPP MPA [Pakistan People's Party-Member of Provincial Assembly] (facing a murder trial).

Kamran, who had also said to have published the famous Afzal Shigri report of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] and involvement of some Sindhi student leaders into Karachi's underworld had been at the hit list of terrorist organisations and some powerful agencies.

Recent murderous attack on him is being widely implied to another agency, it's big boss and his tribesman, who is thought to be No. 2 in Sindh province.

Besides this Abbas Nasir and G.N. Mughul have been immensely harassed by such terrorist forces, time and again.

Intolerance of Dissent Seen

92AS0130B Lahore THE NATION in English
29 Sep 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Safeguarding Press Freedom"]

[Text] Newspapers all over the country are on strike today. No Paper would under normal circumstances, wish to suspend its publication even for a day, unless it has no other option to register an unheeded protest. But when all the newspapers of the country act in unison and call for a day's closure, there must be something terribly wrong somewhere. Fighting for one's survival is indeed a desperate situation, more so when one is faced with the prospect of being choked to death. The Press in Pakistan is ostensibly free, there are yet no officially-ordained restrictions on publishing news or views and the Pressmen quite often take the liberty of saying what they deem is the truth, but which does not necessarily find favour with the powers-that-be. Nevertheless, the cost of sustaining freedom has become more and more exorbitant in the wake of marked fascist tendencies in the body-politic threatening to jeopardise the free flow of information. If intolerance of dissent has become so pronounced that blatant violence is being used to intimidate newspapermen, there is perhaps no need for the Government to enact black laws in order to override the Press' spirit of defiance.

The latest incidents of assault on two journalists in Karachi, one of them being a woman, which has provoked the countrywide protest strike by newspapers, are by no means an odd spectacle in the backdrop of recurring violence against the Press. On the contrary, they have clearly brought home the message that the government, notwithstanding its vows of taking stern action against wilful law-breakers, has virtually been a

bystander while political gangsters had arrogated themselves the right to dictate terms to the Press. It gives no consolidation to point out that the journalists have not been the only victims of organised violence, intolerance has become the order of the day and the society as a whole has been held to ransom by bullies, blackmailers and trigger-happy desperadoes of one variety or the other. The Pressmen are the vanguard of the crusade for democratic rights and if the forces of bigotry and fanaticism succeed in gagging the Press through violence, the future of democracy in this country would have been dealt a death blow. The government has paid enough lip-service to the cause of Press freedom, it is high time it took some positive measures to ensure that the political climate in the country was conducive to free expression and no self-styled arbiters were allowed to browbeat the newspapers into toeing a line that they find handy to project an image of their own liking.

President Held Responsible

92AS0130C Lahore THE NATION in English
29 Sep 91 p 6

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Gagging Journalists Through Violence"]

[Text] The premeditated attack on Kamran Khan, Pakistan's premier investigative journalist based in Karachi, is yet another reprehensible crime aimed at gagging journalists through violence. Thanks to his courage and presence of mind, he physically warded off this attack by a hitman armed with a dagger in broad daylight in one of the busiest boulevards of Karachi. A clear sign that it was a thoroughly professional operation, planned and executed with precision since the attacker went for Kamran Khan only when the journalist, after leaving his office, had sat in his car and after slashing his forearm, the hitman quietly put the dagger in his pocket and walked away.

A day later, another investigative journalists in Karachi, Nafisa Hoodbhoy, was also attacked but she managed to escape. These developments are a shameful commentary on an abysmal state of affairs in Sindh where an unholy trinity of the administration, police and freelance goondas, who, in turn, receive protection for "services rendered," is now a norm in that province.

Some facts on the events surrounding the attack on Kamran Khan, which is the second major "operation" of this kind in Karachi following the assault on Zafar Abbas, a young journalists in Karachi, which followed repeated telephonic threats to him:

—On September 19, Kamran Khan telephoned a colleague in Islamabad telling him that he was under grave pressure and there were increasing threats on his person on account of his journalistic work;

—In the early hours of September 21 at 0130 hours, three boys knocked at Kamran Khan's door requesting "Kamran Bhai" to come out. He wisely refused,

remembering what had happened to Zafar Abbas when he had similarly responded to a knock at his door from strangers;

—On September 22, Kamran Khan sent a telegram to the Prime Minister informing him of these threats and seeking the protection of the government in this regard. He received a call from the Prime Minister's Secretariat assuring him that the government would do its best in the matter although, it was stated that "this is a provincial matter";

—On September 24, at 1800 hours, the hitman struck at Kamran Khan;

—Soon after Kamran Khan had been taken to the Civil Hospital in Karachi for initial medical treatment after the slashing of his forearm, four boys came in a motorcycle, inquired about Kamran Khan and personally inspected his condition to check the extent of injury, following which they quietly and quickly departed;

—30 hours after the attack, Kamran Khan received a 2-minute phone call from the Sindh Chief Minister, Jam Sadiq Ali inquiring about his welfare. The call ended with a promise by the Sindh Chief Minister to personally visit him at some point in time;

—Although publicly it is claimed that a High Court Judge would conduct the inquiry, actually the person deputed turned out to be an ADM [expansion not given] of the local administration who first tried to telephonically investigate the matter and then paid a personal visit;

—The actual Investigating Officer is an Assistant Sub-Inspector who asked Kamran Khan to give his statement on the case in 4-5 lines. In the meantime, the case was quietly transferred from the Civil Lines Police Station to the Arambagh Police Station;

—While flowers are sent to Kamran Khan from Benazir Bhutto and the Hizb-e-Islami of Gulbadin Hikmatyar in Peshawar, there is no such communication from the strongman of Sindh, Irfanullah Khan Marwat, supposedly the custodian of Law and Order in the province as Adviser to the Sindh Chief Minister in charge of Home Ministry.

The context of the attack on Kamran Khan seems to be his investigative work as a journalist since June 1991 which first earned him the ire of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], then the Sindh Chief Minister and finally the Provincial Police headed by none other than Mr Marwat, who, incidentally, owes his "strength" in Sindh to the fact that he is son-in-law of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Interestingly, Mr Marwat, who also heads a faction of the ethnic organisation called the Punjabi Pukhtoon Ittehad (PPI) also enjoyed ministerial status in Sindh during the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] regime, probably being wooed by the previous government for similar reasons.

Interestingly, Kamran Khan, who is 30, during his entire track record of investigative journalism in the last 6 years, has never had to pay such a "price" for his professional work, including the Martial Law period. It was Kamran Khan who first brought out the famous Unnar Case, for which he was criticised a great deal by Benazir Bhutto herself since this case was cited as an example of corruption during the PPP government by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan when he packed off the government on August 6, 1990. But there were no threats from the PPP against Kamran Khan. Similarly, during the Zia regime, when Kamran Khan was working as a reporter for THE MUSLIM, he filed stories regarding drug smugglers being let off under the very nose of the then Deputy Martial Law Administrator (DMLA) in Karachi, who, incidentally, had previously served as Director Military Intelligence (DMI) and was said to be close to General Zia himself. After the publication of Kamran Khan's stories, General Zia, to his credit, ordered an independent inquiry under the auspices of the ISI [Information Service of India] and FIA [Federal Investigation Agency], as a result of which the DMLA was transferred and the drug smugglers rearrested. Kamran Khan was not harmed.

It is clear that this incident is a major warning not just to Kamran Khan, but to other journalists as well, to refrain from reporting any truth which may be unpalatable to the government in Sindh. And the failure of the government to act underlines the administration's winking at such violence. From the officially certified truth, we are graduating to officially-sanctioned violence. Thankfully, the two major media organisations, the All Pakistan Newspapers Society (APNS) and the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors (CPNE) have taken a strong stand by agreeing to a nationwide strike on September 29 to protest these incidents, the first time the newspapers will be closed on account of incidents involving individual journalists rather than media institutions. Hopefully, newspaper organisations will also develop greater spine and they will seek to protect their staffers, even if it means, on occasion, some loss of revenue. After all, principles must take precedence over paychecks.

Finally, the President and the Prime Minister must take notice of these developments in Sindh which are eroding the moral authority of the government. They cannot take refuge under the plea that this is a "provincial matter." In fact, the President's image and good name is being badly tarnished by the acts of commission and omission carried out under the authority of his son-in-law who is responsible for "Law and Order" in Sindh.

Investigative Journalism at Risk

92AS0130D Lahore THE NATION in English 2 Oct 91
p 7

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Investigative Journalism Has a Heavy Price Tag"]

[Text] A question frequently asked in Pakistan regarding the role of the print media often faults Pakistani

journalists for not being investigative enough in the pursuit of their profession. In effect, Pakistani journalists are often accused of not working hard enough to ferret out facts the way investigative journalists do all over the world. While this criticism may have been valid in the past, but with improvement in the quality of journalism in the country more educated and motivated young men and women are entering the profession there is greater openness in the society, investigative journalism in Pakistan is taking root.

But the price of investigative [journalism] is becoming heavier for journalists since they are now not just facing threats but also paying a penalty for telling the truth by being physically assaulted. At least three Karachi journalists in the last 6 months have had to bear the brunt of attacks including Zafar Abbas, Kamran Khan and Nafisa Hoodbhoy. A common feature among all these three journalists in that they are young, have been digging up the facts without fear, were attacked because of their professional work and their attackers got off scot-free.

Two facts underline the development of investigative journalism in Pakistan. First, in a linkage between the free Press and democracy, and with greater professionalism, the Press in Pakistan is finally emerging as the Fourth Estate, as a factor to be reckoned with. This has been more apparent since the dissolution of the notorious Press and Publications Ordinance in September 1988. For 25 years, this Black Law served as each government's Bible on how best to tame and tutor the media in Pakistan. During the 20 months of the Benazir Bhutto government, the role of the Press was vital in exposing official corruption and malpractices, with the result that many observers feel that in evaluating the contribution of various factors in the early downfall of the second PPP [Pakistan People's Party] regime, the role of the media could be put at approximately 30 per cent.

During the Benazir Bhutto period, it was Shaheen Sehba of DAWN who, for instance, dubbed Asif Zardari as "Mr. 10 percent," an epithet that stuck. Kaleem Omar's story in THE MUSLIM on "The House of Commerce" laid bare instances of financial and administrative hanky-panky in the Ministry of Commerce under the then Minister, and in one of the media briefings that Benazir Bhutto held for a select group of senior journalists in January 1990, she summoned the same Minister to face the charges levelled in these stories. Kamran Khan, who was knifed the other day, exposed the Unnar Case, which even the President cited as an example to substantiate his case for dismissal of the Benazir Bhutto government.

The second aspect to be noted regarding the development of investigative journalism in Pakistan is that apart from some of the instances mentioned earlier, by and large, some of the best investigative pieces have appeared not in daily newspapers but mostly in the high

quality monthly publications that are produced in Pakistan, two of which, HERALD and NEWSLINE, definitely stand out as good examples in this regard. Both these monthlies are run by young women, who are first-rate professionals with a commitment to a cause. Sherry Rahman runs the HERALD and Razia Bhatti, who was running the HERALD till she quit on a point of principle, formed her own publication in NEWSLINE, repeating the successes that she had earlier achieved in HERALD. Both these monthlies, which are excellent calling cards of the Pakistani media even to English readers abroad, and certainly better in quality, coverage and content than, say, INDIA TODAY, have developed a healthy investigative tradition which needs to be emulated by the daily newspapers which are now mostly confined either to carrying the expanding corps of columnists writing on different subjects or filling their front pages with statements of an assortment of ministers and/or "leaders."

The Press has an important role, to perform a public service by investigating issues in a country where official archives even treat Press clippings as "classified!" Both HERALD and NEWSLINE are performing such a public service when they educate their readers on issues that are vital to the public interest. Two recent examples will suffice in this regard. In its May 1991 issue, HERALD, for instance, did a superb investigative piece on adulterated food in Karachi titled "Slow Poison." The HERALD spent its resources and talent in testing different varieties of food in various localities, grading it by quality and the extent of danger that they posed to public health. In Pakistan, where something called "quality control" is virtually non-existent, this was a commendable trail-blazer.

Not to be left behind, NEWSLINE came out in September 1991 with a cover story on the cooperatives scandal, which even by public admission of the Finance Minister, has meant a scam of public money worth Rs.[rupees]20 billion, undoubtedly the biggest financial scandal in Pakistan's history. This was a most informative piece of journalism, providing details of money lent to different borrowers, with predictably the top politicians heading the list. Stories such as the NEWSLINE one are important in educating the public regarding the extent of corruption that is today corroding Pakistani society from top to bottom.

Interestingly, a little-known political weekly in Lahore which gained prominence, indeed, even notoriety, during the time of Benazir Bhutto called FACTS INTERNATIONAL, edited by Chaudhry Ghulam Hussain, was also one of the first to provide facts in the case of the cooperatives scandal, details of which giving details of the cooperatives scandal, for distribution during her American journey. [as published] It seems that even the Press, like politics, makes for strange bed fellows!"

TAILPIECE: During an August dinner-cum-briefing for senior journalists and columnists, Prime Minister

Nawaz were later picked up by some daily newspapers. During the PPP period, in his famous interview to London's TATLER, Asif Zardari had termed FACTS INTERNATIONAL as a "rag," but it was a "rag" which he apparently read regularly. In an ironical switch of roles, and of positions, Benazir Bhutto reportedly purchased 1,500 copies of the September 14 issue of FACTS INTERNATIONAL. Sharif asked one of his dinner guests, a prominent columnist, what in his view was the answer to the problems facing Pakistan. The man looked at him, smiled in a strange fashion and retorted in a matter-of-fact manner: "In my view, all the politicians in the country should be lined up before a firing squad and shot." And then, perhaps in an afterthought, he added: "And journalists, too." This informal banter during dinner between the Prime Minister and journalists is perhaps indicative how thick-skinned and callous Pakistanis, of different hues, have become when they can discuss pilferage of billions of rupees as if it was small change and killings of people as if these are mere statistics.

Democracy Threatened

92AS0130E Karachi DAWN in English 27 Sep 91 p 11

[Editorial: "Press Freedom Under Attack"]

[Text] A number of attacks on journalists in the last few days and subtler forms of coercion and intimidation directed against the newspapers once again highlight the condition in which journalists in Pakistan have been operating for quite some time. The threat to a DAWN lady reporter by armed thugs and the murderous assault on a reporter of THE NEWS seem to be links in a chain of events that have continued to occur with alarming frequency. The aim invariably is to harass and intimidate journalists or newspaper managements so as to prevent them from discharging their professional duties without fear or favour. Some of the recent incidents of violence against journalists revive the bleak memory of the "boycott" of DAWN and JANG earlier this year when copies of the newspapers were snatched and burnt or their distribution blocked. There were also reports some time ago that the government was thinking of enacting a new Press law that would make it an offence for reporters to refuse to reveal the source of information relating to any of their stories if so demanded. Faced with strong criticism from the Press and other quarters, the move was quietly dropped. But other methods of intimidation and pressure continue to be pressed into service, one of them being the withholding of official advertising from newspapers seen to be displaying a recalcitrant attitude.

In assessing the plight of the Press and the continued threat to its freedom, the one truth that hits any observer of the national scene forcefully is the lack of commitment to Press freedom on the part of the ruling classes and the political parties. Many political parties and groups have often adopted toward the newspapers an attitude of extreme intolerance, bordering, in some

cases, on plain fascism. Not only political parties: several student groups and militant religious and ethnic parties have been involved in attacks on journalists and newspaper offices on the flimsiest of pretexts. Sometimes, political parties in power have resorted to burning of newspaper copies, attacks on journalists and other forms of coercion with the help of both party gangsters and the official machinery. One can come up with a long list of attacks on newspaper offices and journalists by political parties and groups. As stated earlier, the purpose here is not to point an accusing finger at any particular party or group but to state the patent fact that most political parties have repeatedly belied their fair-weather professions of respect for Press freedom and tolerance of dissent and fair criticism. Directly or indirectly, they have done everything to impair and erode these values by holding their practitioners in open contempt and using violence and coercion against working journalists and newspapers without the slightest compunction. This precisely is the position today.

Both the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] and the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]—which have recently reversed their roles as parties in power and in opposition—have failed to uphold the freedom of the Press. Of course, political parties have often paid lip service to free expression when in opposition or when canvassing for votes in an election. But experience has shown that the promise to uphold Press freedom written into a party's manifesto becomes the first casualty when that party takes the reins of power. The enormous harm such duplicity has done to the nation in the form of denial of truth and suppression of facts and a pervasive atmosphere of intolerance is there for all to see. It is time, the IJI and the PPP, the two leading parties, realised the duty they owe to freedom and democracy. The people have voted for them, and to them they owe the responsibility to practise what they had promised. In practical terms, this means that they should give a lead to other political parties and religious, ethnic and student groups in making an open and unqualified commitment to the concept of Press freedom—not by mere words but by example. They have to admit that their failure to uphold and protect Press freedom when in power has created an atmosphere in which undemocratic political forces and lobbies have found it possible to violate Press freedom and intimidate journalists and editors with impunity. If this situation continues and the threat to the journalistic profession abides, the ultimate casualty will be not just a free Press but democracy itself.

President Asked To Thwart MQM Actions

92AS0040K Lahore *THE NATION* in English
13 Sep 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Lahore—MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] dissidents Muhammad Afaq and Amir Khan have disclosed that they have contacted the President's Secretariat as well as the Sindh government to ask for action to end the MQM's 'reign of terror' in Karachi, and for guarantees of

security which would allow them to participate in the coming local body elections.

Addressing a press conference on Thursday at Nishat Colony, Lahore Cantt, where pressmen were taken after first being given a rendezvous at a Liberty Market restaurant, the pair also said that if the elections were held under the supervision of the military and the judiciary, the entire country would see how badly MQM leader Altaf Hussain's graph had fallen.

They said that while they had not been able to get an appointment with the President, the Secretary to the President had assured them that he had ordered the collection of facts and figures, after which he would look into the matter. They had received a similar assurance from Sindh CM's [Chief Minister] Home Affairs Adviser Irfan Marwat.

They said they wished to take part in the coming local body elections, but they could not do so unless the federal government took sufficient measures to guarantee that there would be no violence or loss of life because of this. They affirmed that the reason they were staying in Lahore was because their presence in Karachi would have given the MQM leaders an excuse to unleash terror on innocent people.

However, they said, if they could not participate in the elections, then they would support those who were not known as MQM workers, but who were sympathetic to the 'Muhajir cause.'

They also disclosed that they had had FIRs [First Information Reports] registered through the Sind High Court against MQM leaders, including movement leader Altaf Hussain, in seven cases, including three of murder involving the deaths of 15 or 16 people. They said that some of those killed in the Landhi fighting were still lying unidentified in the morgues of Jinnah and Abbasi Shaheed Hospitals because their relatives were too scared to come forward and identify them. The other cases are of arson.

The former MQM joint secretaries were making their first appearance before a Lahore press corps slightly bemused by the dramatic means of invitation. They said that they had not had cases registered for all the murders which had taken place, mentioning as prominent names Saeed, Kamran, Faisal, Syed, Murad, Zafar, Mansoor and Haider. They claimed that thousands of MQM workers had left Karachi and were spread all over the country.

They denied that they possessed any arms, adding that even if they had, and had resorted to violence, there would be no difference between them and Altaf. They said they preferred to seek a political and legal solution. Asked whether the presence of well-armed Altaf supporters would not prevent such a solution, they said that Altaf no longer enjoyed real support among the masses, who were terrorised.

They claimed that those now responsible for violence were hired goons, paid by being placed on the Pakistan Steel Mill payroll where 4,000 new workers had been inducted recently, who could easily turn state's evidence. They also demanded that Altaf Hussain be asked to account for the prohibited bore weapons that the dissident MPAs [Members of Provincial Assembly] had placed in his custody before resigning. They explained that all MQM MNAs [Members of National Assembly] and MPAs had handed over their prohibited bore weapons to Altaf's bodyguards.

They said that Altaf Hussain was engaged in anti-state activities, which included contacts with foreign powers and briefings against the Army. They said that while there be constraints on the government's freedom of action, but it could not long remain unaware of Altaf's activities, and would have to take action against him.

They said if Altaf was sincere in solving the Muhajirs' problems, he would have made public his agreement with the Sindh government, so that the people themselves could judge whether it was in their interests or not, and how far it was being implemented. They claimed that Altaf had used the Muhajir masses to blackmail successive governments, and kept the various accords secret.

Answering a question, they said that while Sindh CM Jam Sadiq Ali had broken off enough PPP [Pakistan People's Party] MPAs so as no longer to need the MQM's support in the Sindh Assembly, he probably did not trust the ex-PPP men enough to dispense with the MQM. Also, they said, it was speculated that the Jam had made a deal with the MQM to support it in the local body elections in the urban areas in exchange for the MQM's delivering the muhajir vote in the rural areas.

They also claimed that the MQM leader had squirrelled away tens of millions of rupees of party funds abroad, and had also piled up an impressive list of property in Karachi in other people's names. They mentioned the MQM MPA Hostel in Azizabad, in the name of Federal Production Minister Islam Nabi's wife, five houses in Federal 'B' Area and North Nazimabad in various names, and a Rs. 6.5 million bungalow in Defence, the furniture alone costing Rs. another 300,000.

Nawaz Sharif's Four-Point Proposal at Harare Viewed

92AS0161B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Harare, Oct. 17—Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif today made a four-point proposal calling for solution of regional disputes, observance of human rights of suppressed people, universal implementation of UN resolutions and nuclear non-proliferation.

He was intervening in the discussion on the global political trends which concluded at the Commonwealth conference here on Thursday.

Briefing Pakistani newsmen, Foreign Secretary Shaharyar Mohammad Khan, later said the Prime Minister emphasised that these four major issues are the ones which the Commonwealth should concentrate on.

First of all the world statesmen should look into the question of regional disputes and conflicts.

He said "the new world order must ensure that regional disputes and conflicts are settled on a priority basis" (an obvious reference to the Kashmir dispute).

The Prime Minister said peaceful settlement of regional disputes should be placed very high on the agenda as regional disputes in South Asia threatened peace and security of the region. The effort of the Commonwealth should be made to ensure security of smaller and vulnerable states.

Mohammad Nawaz Sharif said in fact the threat to these countries emanates mostly from the immediate environment and not from superpowers.

The new world order, he said, must encourage peaceful settlement of disputes through conciliation, mediation or arbitration.

Giving examples of several countries, he pointed that even Pakistan and India had resorted to such a procedure to resolve disputes like the Indus basin waters and the Runn of Kutch.

Referring to weapons of mass destruction, Nawaz Sharif emphasised that it should also include conventional weapons. Pakistan, he said, believed that a regional approach would effectively promote nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. Pakistan has made a number of proposals in this respect. Prime Minister said we believe that regional approach to non-proliferation based on equality and non-discrimination is the most feasible and effective means to resolve the nuclear issue.

Our correspondent reports from Harare that several Commonwealth leaders congratulated the Prime Minister for such a lucid exposition of these vital issues.—APP

Bhutto's Statements Seen Contradictory, Opportunistic

92AS0040G Lahore THE NATION in English
15 Sep 91 p 6

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "The Nuclear Controversy"]

[Text] Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's 31 August statement to foreign journalists in Islamabad on the nuclear programme has generated some controversy and during her recent visit to Paris, she reiterated her comments in which she acknowledged that Pakistan's nuclear programme had developed a deterrence against outside aggression. However, she also said that while in office, the President (and, by implication the Army) had

kept the country's nuclear programme secret from her and she accused President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of "crossing the line," an act, which, in her view, resulted in the American aid cut.

Shorn of all verbiage, Benazir Bhutto's statement, her first explicit endorsement of Pakistan's nuclear capability, seems to have had a three-in-one purpose: to take credit, in the eyes of Pakistani public opinion, that the nuclear capability was achieved during her tenure in office; to underline that her father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was the father of the nuclear programme, a move to spite his successors like Ziaul Haq and Ghulam Ishaq Khan who continued the nuclear programme with the same tenacity as Mr. Bhutto; and finally, in a message to the Americans, that the "real villain" on the nuclear issue is Ghulam Ishaq Khan since it was he who "crossed the line" on the nuclear issue that had been earlier set by the Americans.

In all this hullabaloo regarding the Benazir statement, she has been faulted by the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] for the wrong reasons, with some in the government even making patently absurd statements seeking her "trial for treason." This volley of attacks by the IJI on Benazir Bhutto has obscured the real, more fundamental issues pertaining to the nuclear programme which is vital to the security of Pakistan. Additionally, and this is a matter of regret, the nuclear issue has become victim to partisanship with scoring of points taking precedence over focus on the real debate on this question.

In examining Benazir Bhutto's statement on the nuclear issue, three aspects are noteworthy. First, whether what she said was newly a former Prime Minister or that is something which had been stated with some variation by previous Presidents and Prime Ministers. Second, is it fair to attack the President for allegedly "crossing the line" on the nuclear issue, a "line" that has been "set" by the United States in the first place. Third, the double standards of politicians while in office and out of office.

Regarding her statement confirming the capability of Pakistan to develop a deterrent, which means that the Pakistan nuclear programme has a military component as well notwithstanding the public professions of successive governments regarding its "purely peaceful nature," what Benazir Bhutto said is merely a reiteration of past statements made, incidentally, first by her father and then by Ziaul Haq as President. Some examples:

- During a December 1974 statement which came after India had tested its own nuclear device earlier that year, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that "If our backs are to the wall, and we have absolutely no option, in that event, this decision about going nuclear will have to be taken."

In his July 1978 political testament from his death cell, Mr. Bhutto was also the first Pakistani leader to hint at the possible acquisition of Pakistan's nuclear capability when he wrote: "The Christian, Jewish and Hindu

civilisations have this (nuclear) capability. The Communist powers also possess it. Only the Islamic civilisation is without it. But that position was about to change." This 200-page political testament was later published as a book by Mr. Bhutto titled "If I am assassinated."

In a 30 March 1987 interview with *TIME* magazine, General Zia said that "you can virtually write today that Pakistan can build a bomb whenever it wishes. What is difficult about a bomb? Once you have technology, which Pakistan has, you can do whatever you like. You can use it for peaceful purposes only. You can also utilise it for military purposes."

In a 28 April, 1988 interview to *THE ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL*, President Ziaul Haq explicitly reiterated what he had told *TIME* in March 1987: "Perhaps the U.S. effort was to stop us from the enrichment programme. Having seen that Pakistan has gone ahead and succeeded, the best thing now is to enjoy and relax."

During a July 1988 meeting in Islamabad with the delegation of the Washington-based Carnegie Task Force on Non-proliferation, which included the leading American nuclear expert, Leonard Spector, and Selig Harrison as well, General Zia's candid observations, made only six weeks before his own assassination, which were subsequently produced in a report issued by the same Task Force in October 1988, stated that: "By far the most important—and most troubled development—to emerge from the delegation's visit to the Sub-Continent came during a series of exchanges with Pakistan President Zia, some of them on the record, in which he, for the first time, publicly abandoned his past insistence that Pakistan's nuclear activities were entirely peaceful. Without explicitly stating that Pakistan had a nuclear weapons programme, he declared that Pakistan's nuclear capability was now so advanced that it served as a deterrent against India. What made Zia's statements so important was that they amounted to an admission—after years of Pakistani obfuscation—that the country's nuclear programme had a military role. Zia's comments appeared to acknowledge implicitly that the country was at or over the nuclear weapons threshold."

During his 13 September 1989 briefing to the media, the then Chief of Army Staff, General Aslam Beg, stated that "the nuclear option also acts as a deterrent and it contributes to the total fighting ability of the Army acting as a deterrent to the enemy."

The second aspect of this controversy, in which Benazir Bhutto has accused President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of "crossing the line," is somewhat insidious since by alleging that the President crossed the line on the nuclear issue, a line supposedly set by the Americans in the first place, she has not only totally identified herself with the American position on this issue, but also implicitly stated that if she returns to office, Benazir Bhutto might be prepared to roll back. The hard fact is that the nuclear programme is one issue which has enjoyed a national

consensus within the country, the power structure and the people alike, irrespective of the government in office. The programme was initiated by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, pursued by Ziaul Haq and carried to its current level by Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who, incidentally, also headed a three-man committee appointed by Mr. Bhutto oversee all aspects of the Kahuta project since 1975. The other two members of this committee were Agha Shahi and A.G.N. Kazi.

If Ghulam Ishaq Khan crossed a certain line on the nuclear programme, then he deserves to be commended for serving the national interest on such a vital issue and not buckling under American pressure. In any case, it is not for the United States to set lines that Pakistani people can be told not to cross. And, "crossing the line," for that matter, should apply equally to India or Israel who have crossed many lines without worrying about what the Americans will say. Moreover, if the Americans are annoyed on this score and they have cut off all aid, then it should be recognised, particularly by Benazir Bhutto, that this is not too big a price to pay for the acquisition of a nuclear capability since that is what her father prided on the most as his biggest achievement and on which now she is also keen to get some credit as evidenced in her 31 August statement.

Finally, a key aspect of the programme is double standards of the politicians, since they behave differently while in office and take contrary positions while in opposition. On the nuclear issue, for instance, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif have actually swapped positions: While Benazir Bhutto was "soft" on the nuclear issue while in government, Nawaz Sharif was "hard" on it then since he was in opposition, and today, it is Benazir who is "hard" on it while Nawaz Sharif is coming across as being "soft" on it, going by his comments to American reporters during his 6 June 1991 breakfast meeting with them when he reportedly hinted at unilateral Pakistani acceptance of IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] for inspection of Pakistani nuclear facilities.

It seems that on this issue Pakistani politicians prefer expediency to consistency and conviction. What is vital on the nuclear issue is that the national interest must come before all other considerations, including American aid, and the national interest has been well-served in this regard by the policies followed by all three Presidents in this regard: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Ziaul Haq and Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Without their collective and consistent efforts, including standing up to American pressure, the Pakistan nuclear programme would not have achieved the capability or the level that deterred India on at least two occasions in 1987 and 1990. The nuclear programme has managed to achieve, as 1987 and 1990 demonstrated, a South Asian version of the "balance of terror."

Editorial on Bhutto's Call for Government Reform

92AS0159A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
14 Oct 91 p 6

[Text] Ms. Benazir Bhutto has once again called for a change in the complexion and composition of the government at the centre. She made this plea at a Press conference in Islamabad. While it is perfectly understandable that the leader of the Opposition and a former prime minister should wish and work to have the government in power replaced, what exactly she means is not very clear. Nor how she would want the change to be brought about. To use her own words as reported in the press, Ms. Bhutto calls for "an interim government of national consensus to restore power to the people." Like it or not, the present government headed by Mr. Nawaz Sharif claims to be duly elected, thus representing the people. It also claims and demonstrates that it commands a very credible majority in the legislature. Neither claim has been challenged successfully in any relevant forum. Allegations of manipulation in the electoral process have indeed been made in categorical and strident terms. But that is not enough to create the conditions in which a constitutional change in government can be insisted upon. Ms. Bhutto remains unclear as to how the present government can be unseated and one of the descriptions she desires be brought in.

Constitutional modalities for a change in the government is for the constitutional pundits to meditate upon. But Ms. Bhutto's plea for a reform in the federal government cannot be rejected out of hand simply because it is not so easy to implement. That the government at present in power has so far failed to prove to be equal to the gigantic task it has on its hands is something no procrastination can conceal. The list of its failures is already very long and continues to grow longer. The most striking of its inadequacies is in the field of law and order which is the primary function of even the most primitive of governments. The government of Pakistan just doesn't have its grip on the situation. To argue that this is a provincial subject is to abdicate overall authority and responsibility for a national government. This plea is not available to Mr. Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister because all provincial governments owe political allegiance to him and are thus projections of his political and governmental image and authority.

No less distressing are the failures of the federal government in management of the economy, foreign relations and control over civil services. The economy remains in the abyss of decline; foreign relations stuck in the slough of immobility; the administration was never more inept, corrupt and cruel. Seasoned civil administrators are not so dismayed by the crime wave which has swamped the country as they profoundly fear the collapse of administration as imminent, if not already a fact of our life. There was a time when we had a bad government. Now, they say, we have no government to talk about. In short, we do seem to be in instant need of a basic restructuring of the government at the centre and consequent reforms

in provincial governments. How this is to be done can be very simple indeed. The Prime Minister himself should initiate the process which he very well can without upsetting anything at all. It is for Mr. Nawaz Sharif to realise that he ought to move in the direction where the good of the country lies. He may be constitutionally in command but in real terms he is not, or no longer. The recent expansion he has effected in his cabinet has only rendered confusion worse confounded. He can perhaps drag on with this ramshackle outfit but not without the very likely risk of a breakdown or, heaven forbid, a crash. Now is the time to work for what Ms. Bhutto unsurely describes as an interim government of national consensus. She needn't be so unsure because the path to that destination could not be more clear, straight and short. It can be done today. Why delay, Mr. Prime Minister?

Proposal of Bhutto for Muslim Army Criticized

92AS0159C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 Oct 91 p 6

[Text] Making statements, floating ideas, formulating policies, sometimes even thinking aloud are part of professional compulsions of a practising politician. Given that one still expects a certain amount of caution and realism from those who assume the responsibilities of political leadership. These expectations are particularly high in the case of Ms. Benazir Bhutto, the leader of the opposition. As she herself claimed the other day, she is at once a former prime minister and daughter and also grand daughter of prime ministers of an earlier vintage. In several ways she has an exceptionally impressive educational record which should place her intellectually very high among her peers. It is not very exhilarating therefore when Ms. Benazir Bhutto allows herself adolescent indiscretions and talks like a political sophomore. That is just what she did by advancing the euphoric idea of a Muslim army under the command of the United Nations. Where in the United Nations Charter is there any provision for a Muslim or a Christian army? Even more chimerical is the vision of a Muslim army representing a united Muslim world. Such an entity has not existed for centuries and if the present state of the Muslim world is anything to go by, there is no prospect of any kind of unity of thought and purpose among the Muslim nations.

Talking of armies as instruments for solution of international problems raises a series of uncomfortable fears. Since World War Two, around 140 wars have been fought in various parts of the world, our subcontinent's contribution being an impressive—three major and scores of minor ones. No major international dispute has so far been solved by any army or armies anywhere in the world in modern times. The World War I was only a prelude to World War II. One expects Ms. Bhutto to know as much. And also that the world is moving away from reliance upon force as a cure for the maladies which plague vast areas and billions of people. She would have probably had a point if she suggested a body composed

of Muslim states to help resolve their mutual disputes by peaceful means, preferably by judicial process, something like a court on the lines of the International Court of Justice.

Ms. Benazir is again pretty wide off the mark when she talks of what would presumably be a beginning towards an Islamic economic community or an Islamic Common Market. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan too has been talking about it in recent weeks. To add to this confusion we now have Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi explaining to us the merits of an Islamic Commonwealth. If the Maulana is not aware of the Organisation of Islamic Conference and the distressing mess it is in, he can be forgiven. But it is no great joy to find Ms. Benazir vying with the likes of Maulana Niazi in this game of frothing Islamic fervour signifying nothing but lack of vision and want of ideas.

Bhutto Says 'Country Facing Leadership Crisis'

92AS01611 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
19 Oct 91 p 12

[Article by Sameena Nazir]

[Text] Rawalpindi, Oct. 17—An eloquent Benazir Bhutto assured the lawyers and members of the judiciary that Pakistan People's Party (PPP) stands shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed and exploited people of Pakistan because, we "dare mighty things" and "seek to win glorious triumphs".

Ms Bhutto, leader of the Opposition and Co-chairperson Pakistan People's Party, was addressing the District Bar Association, Rawalpindi here on Wednesday.

Addressing a jam-packed hall, she said, when the highest judicial institutions are mismanaged, the nation begins to corrode from within. Loss of faith in the judicial institutions is the worst form of subversion.

Benazir Bhutto said the present government was a worst form of dictatorship because it camouflages itself in the cloak of democracy and claims legitimacy. She regretted that the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government has set up a parallel judicial system to hound and intimidate its political opponents.

Referring to President's references against her, Benazir Bhutto said, large scale arrests and torture was resorted to and speedy trials in special courts were set in motion. Deploing the undemocratic and high-handed methods of Sindh Government against the Press she disclosed how the publication and sale of October's HERALD magazine was stopped by Sindh government which had an article about the President called "Inside the CIA", which reveals a sad story of torture, rape, kidnapping and extortion.

Benazir Bhutto regretted that all this loot and plunder, destruction of judicial institution and mockery of the rule of law is leading the country down a very dangerous

road. She said serious ethnic clashes have erupted in Balochistan for the first time pitting the Baluch against the Pashtoon. She also observed the sectarian tension in NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] after the murder of Fazal-e-Haq.

The leader of the opposition lashed out at Nawaz Sharif's government for the collapse of cooperatives which has rendered millions of widows, orphans and poor people penniless in Punjab. She said Sindh is a cauldron of violence, already unrepresented in the Presidency, the PM's [prime minister] Secretary, the Senate, the National Assembly, the Supreme Court and the Ombudsman's office and now the Sindh government has been handed over to a minority party MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] whose ministers with impunity kidnap and torture officers of the Pakistan army and no action is taken against them.

Talking about the US aid, Benazir Bhutto said, the US aid cut off is severely undermining Pakistan's conventional capability to defend itself. She said Pakistan has never been in such dire straits except for the dark days of December 1971. She questioned the Nawaz Sharif's government's capability to lead the country out of these crises and said the answer is a resounding 'No' because Nawaz government has no credibility, no mass following. She declared that present government is corrupt and incompetent having no vision or interest to solve the country's problems.

Benazir Bhutto said Pakistan was facing a leadership crisis as it faced in 1971 and if we do not learn from our history we are condemned to suffer the same holocaust. She said internationally we need a leadership that can make Pakistan part of the global agenda. She said the only way out of this crisis is to form an interim government of national consensus and then negotiate a new social contract between the de facto and de jure powers, different classes and different groups wielding powers.

Lashing out at IJI government she said this was a government of contradictions, whose only past time was making money. She questioned the Nawaz government's silence over the disastrous impact of the abrupt and unilateral withdrawal of SRO's [statutory rules and orders] 517, 480 and 481 on the existing 200 industrial units of Gadoon Amazai Industrial Estate. The same government, she said was ironically planning to hold a conference for the promotion of investment in Pakistan.

PDA Accuses Nawaz Sharif of Plundering

92AS0161C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Oct 91 p 10

[Article by Aroosa Alam: "PDA Launches Another Frontal Attack on Nawaz"]

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 17—As reverberations caused by the "white paper" on 1990 elections were still in the air the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] has come out

with another weapon to whip up the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government, questioning credentials of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif as chief executive of the country.

In the paper "The Plunder of Pakistan" the opposition has documented information and evidence to conclude that "heading a pack of wolves, he (Nawaz Sharif) is plundering the national wealth with impunity and at a rate that is threatening the entire banking system of the country".

After presenting facts and figures in a number of cases supported by some newspaper clippings and photo copies of other documents, the PDA has alleged in the 100-page "The Plunder of Pakistan" that "Nawaz Sharif and his family are income-tax evaders and foreign currency racketeers". It also alleges that he has blatantly abused his official position to enrich himself and his family and has taken illegally millions of rupees from the Punjab treasury.

Four ruling families—the Sharif brothers, the Chaudharys [Ch] of Gujrat, Dr Basharat Elahi and Saifullahs—described as the gang of four have been made special target of the opposition wrath which, according to the paper, have taken control of the wealth of Pakistan borrowing Rs 19 billion from banks and DFIs [Development Finance Institutions]. Comparing this to Punjab ADP [Annual Development Program] of Rs[rupees]8 billion, it says these four families have taken more than twice as much as the annual development money for 60 million Punjabis. Tabulating market capitalisation of eight biggest national corporations (PIA [Pakistan International Airlines], PSO [expansion not given], KESC [Karachi Electric Supply Corporation], National Refinery, Sui Northern, Pakistan Oilfields and Pakistan Insurance Corporation) which comes to Rs 15,000 million, "The Plunder of Pakistan" says these four families have taken enough money to buy one hundred percent of the equity of the largest national corporations of Pakistan with another Rs 4,000 million left over.

In 1981, it says, the Sharifs had borrowings from DFIs and NCBs [nationalized commercial banks] of Rs 40 million but ten years later (in 1991) they jumped to an astronomical sum of Rs 12,000 million which is considerably more than the ADP of the Punjab. According to details given therein, Sharif Group took project loan of Rs 1,200 million for Brothers Sugar Mills; Rs 700 million for Ramzan Sugar Mills; 550 million for Ittefaq Sugar Mills; 580 million for Ittefaq Textile Units 1, 2 & 3; 400 million for Brothers Textiles; 280 million for Khalid Seraj Textiles; 1,300 million for Ittefaq Foundries; 280 million for Brother Steel; 400 million for Ittefaq Brothers and 800 million for Honda Assembly Plant. Rs 610 million loan is being taken for Ramzan Buksh and Mehr Ramzan Textile for which LCs [Letters of Credit] have already been opened. Finances to the tune of Rs 4,045 million have been arranged for Chaudhry Sugar

Mills, Abbas Textiles, Hamza Textile, Sharif Spinning, Al-Shafi Sugar Mills, Al-Mairaj Sugar Mills and Sardar Board Mills.

In addition to Chenar Sugar, Arooj Textiles and Raj Textile being managed by the Sharifs in partnership with Sheikh Saeed Group, they obtained loans amounting to Rs 1,240 million.

The paper also alleges that through a recent notification reducing the duty on steel scrap from Rs 1,500 per ton to Rs 500 per ton—issued at a time when several ship-loads of scrap for Nawaz Sharif's Ittefaq Foundries arrived outside Karachi harbour, Ittefaq Group earned windfall profits to the tune of around Rs 500 million. The big loser was Pakistan Steel, a public enterprise which makes billets consumed by furnaces in Sindh which too were hard hit.

It says while the Ittefaq scrap was being "priority loaded" onto railway wagons for carriage to Lahore, bags of fertiliser which are normally given priority at Karachi harbour were left rotting on the docks.

The paper puts whole blame of the cooperatives scandal on Mian Nawaz Sharif as it developed during his tenure as Chief Minister [CM] of Punjab. Ittefaq Group borrowed a sum of around Rs 450 million from NICFC [National Industrial Co-operative Finance Corporation] but as soon as the scandal erupted, they took money from Bankers Equity and NIT [National Investment Trust] on August 22 to repay loans to the NICFC. Since DFIs can only provide finance for new projects this loan was termed as a "refinancing loan" and the money was transferred to NICFC in a matter of days.

Referring to cancellation of the licence of Indus Motor Company, agents of Toyota, "The Plunder of Pakistan" says it was a "ploy to delay the production of Toyota plant which is in competition with the Honda plant being set up by the Ittefaq Group."

It has been maintained that the Sharifs made speculative profits estimated at around Rs 150 million by purchasing massive amounts of agricultural land amounting to a total of 3,398 canals in Chunian, district Kasur as they knew in advance that Chunian was to become an industrial zone and that land prices would soar as a result.

As Chief Minister of Punjab, it further alleges, Mian Nawaz Sharif, in violation of the upper limit of Rs 1 lakh per annum on the CM's discretionary fund withdrew a total of Rs 72.46 million in five years and doled much of the amount on his favourites—politicians, journalists and officials.

The PDA has also included photo copy of an agreement between Nawaz Sharif and Maulana Alwari concluded between them on the occasion of bye-elections to NA-99 in February, 1990. It has been alleged that the IJI chief resorted to clear cut horse-trading as he promised to

reward Maulana Alwari and JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulemai-Pakistan] for his decision to step down in favour of an IJI candidate.

About Chaudharys (of Gujart), the paper says they got their loans written off during martial law regime. These loans were Rs 22.04 million against Ceebee Industries; Rs 15.70 million Modern Oil Mills and personal loans amounting to Rs 34.14 million of Ch Zahoor Elahi. They have a total borrowing of Rs 3.5 billion.

It states that Dr Basharat Elahi, who was a small-time medical practitioner in England, returned to Pakistan in 1977 when General Ziaul Haq took reign of the country and in a period of few years managed to obtain loans of around Rs 1,700 million. At the same time, he managed to get himself elected as Senator although he was then a British citizen. Photo copies of a detailed report published in THE FRIDAY TIMES of September 19-25, 1991 on properties of Dr Basharat Elahi and General Ziaul Haq have also been included in the 100-page document of the PDA.

About the fourth member of the "privileged clique", the document says Saifullahs owe Rs 2,000 million to banks and DFIs. They managed to get loans for Kohat Textile Mills and Frontier Textile Mills amounting to Rs 45 million written off by the National Bank during Gen Zia's rule. Their other companies include Frontier Towel Works, Bannu Flour Mills, Nasa Constructors Ltd, Saif Beverages, M S Communications International, Pezu Cement and Gadoon Textiles Mills. In recent weeks, they won a cellular telephone contract despite the fact that the two existing companies, Paktel and Instaphone, had a cast-iron contract precluding any new companies entering the same field. They have also been awarded multi-million rupee road building contracts and are also bidding for a portion of PTC [Pakistan Television Corporation] in partnership with Motorola.

Irfanullah Marwat, it says, "accumulated a massive fortune as a cotton exporter with an annual turnover in the region of \$125 million".

The eight-chapter document includes topics on "The Plunder of Pakistan", "A Question of Conscience", "The Gang of Four", "The Greatest Bank Robbery in the History of Pakistan", "The Bankrupting of Punjab", "Ittefaq Local Machinery Financing and the Sugar Industry", "What the world is saying" and in this background a question chapter "Does this man deserve to be Prime Minister of Pakistan?"

IJI-PPP Understanding Seen in National Interest 92AS0134F Karachi DAWN in English 26 Sep 91 p 9

[Article by Sultan Ahmad: "Towards IJI-PPP (Islamic Democratic Alliance-Pakistan People's Party) Rap-prochement"]

[Text] Is a rapprochement between the bitterly feuding Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Opposition leader Ms

Bhutto possible, and sustainable? The need, in fact, urgency for that is obvious in a period in which the country faces too many external and internal problems.

While old problems are hardly being solved, new challenges are arising. And Ms Bhutto herself has been talking of a possible war with India within a year, and of the US designs to subject Pakistan to greater stresses to force it [to] discard its "nuclear programme."

The question immediately is not whether Mr Nawaz Sharif or Ms Bhutto would do better as Prime Minister, even though she is convinced she would do far better and solve most of Pakistan's external problems, which clearly underestimates the complexity of the problems the country faces. The central question now is whether the two leaders can bury their over-used or brandished hatchet and come to work for the good of the country, and save its rapidly weakening democratic superstructure in which the people have now less faith, although they are still for democracy as their political ideal.

The PM [prime minister] has said he is ready for a dialogue with the opposition if he sees a change of heart or approach on the other side. He has not come up with any hard-edged pre-conditions despite the fierce animosity towards each other, and the vast chasm of hostility that divides them.

But this is not the first time he is making such an offer within the ten months he has been PM. Past pronouncement of this kind and earlier occasional meetings led to nothing except an increase in the bitterness between them and use of utterly unacceptable language against each other.

The PPP has not rejected the PM's offer, but it cannot pick it up seriously until Ms Bhutto returns from the United States next month. Contacts with the opposition on the level of the Minister of State for Political Affairs Abdullah Ghazi cannot achieve much in the manner his predecessors of a junior kind with similar missions achieved nothing.

But it is very wrong of some PPP leaders to jeer at the PM's offer, and argue that he had gone to the opposition only because he had failed in his office. That is not how good political dialogues began.

It would be more accurate to say that the PM realises the urgency for ending the bitter discord that discredits both, and opening new avenues for cooperation in view of the overwhelming political, economic, social and external problems he and the country confront.

But even if they enter into dialogue with each other unconditionally, both are likely to expect a great deal from each other. The PM would expect Ms Bhutto to suspend or relax her militant campaign for refund of Rs[rupees]20 billion to the people who deposited their savings in the co-operative finance corporations, by

October 3. She had announced one-month's period for "repaying every penny" on September 3 when she took off for Paris.

She would also be expected to give up the second Long March from Lahore to Islamabad in November to mobilise public support against the IJI government, and in fact to immobilise and topple it quick.

What we are going to see is street politics and militant agitation with even street language often used in the name of democracy. How tragicomic has our politics become, and how freely we are misusing and debasing Islam? Nothing seems to be too sacrosanct to be misused for political ends of a very short-term kind.

Ms Bhutto would also on her part expect a great deal from the PM beginning with an end to the persecution of the PPP in Sindh, mass arrests of PPP workers and branding them as Al Zulfikhar agents or Indian stooges, and the massive pressure on PPP MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] to quit the PPP and join Jam Sadiq's group to be rewarded enormously and immediately. She has expressed a preference for Ghous Ali Shah, former Sindh Chief Minister [CM] elected from Punjab and now Defence Minister, as CM of Sindh in place of Jam Sadiq whom she abhors because of his repressive excesses.

In fact, Jam Sadiq, with his ruthless drive to eliminate the PPP in Sindh after barring it from forming the provincial government with the full backing of President Ghulam Ishaq, is a major bone of contention between the PM and the opposition.

She would also expect the cases filed against the PPP leaders to be dropped while the government could concentrate on a few substantive cases. She would hope for an end to the vigorous campaign of vilification against the PPP, and fair coverage of its activities by PTV and Radio Pakistan.

At this stage, the third dimension of the tangle at the top comes to the fore. Today President Ghulam Ishaq is far more opposed to her than the PM is. As he pursues the cases against her, her husband and other PPP leaders with singular tenacity, and at great cost to the country, her attacks on him are becoming more and more sweeping and absolutely vitriolic!

It is said that around last July the PPP and Mr Nawaz Sharif were negotiating some kind of settlement without the knowledge of the President. The moment he got to know of that he shot it down. That can happen again, unless she makes up with the President which would call for a resolute turn-around.

Unfortunately for her, Ms Bhutto has made too many enemies and keeps stroking the fires of enmity with almost all of them. If she is all out against the President and the PM she also concentrates her attack on senior ministers like Chaudhri Shujaat Hussain. In Sindh, she is opposed to Jam Sadiq and Mr Irfan Marwat his powerful

law and order boss, the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], Jeeye Sindh, particularly Mr. G.M. Syed and Pir Pagaro. The exceptions have been Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Mr Hafeez Pirzada.

The fact is that she is not playing politics or being statesman-like. She is not picking up her principal enemies and focussing her fire on them, while trying to win over others. She is not able to win over even some of the middle-level parties which have been opposed to the government for long. While the JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan] headed by Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani is not with her, the JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] headed by Maulana Fazlur Rahman does not want to see a woman as PM. Any kind of political liaison with the Jamaat-i-Islami which is being driven crazy by the MQM, will be dangerous for her. They are not natural political allies.

In spite of the varied provocations offered by the government Ms Bhutto has to get the better of her anger and wounded pride and opt for the right advice, if not the right advisers, make her choices in a tough political environment, and move ahead deftly. Going to many seminars and symposia abroad as part of a strategy to escalate the political heat and then vanish temporarily to let it come down has very dubious merits. That may help her win political admirers abroad but not to return to the premiership early.

She would do better to accept even the advice of Pir Pagaro, who has little love for her, and choose between the President and the PM instead of letting her arrows furiously fly in both directions, and become ineffective, while they have formed a tight team of two against one.

The fact is that the fight between the IJI government and the PPP is neither ideological nor institutional nor even historical. After all, the President was elected by both the parties. It is more personal, and the animosity has become too deep.

The PM too has plenty of problems even when he has overwhelming majority in the National Assembly and the Senate, IJI governments in the four provinces and a very supportive President. Unlike the President who is 76 the PM is young and looks forward to long period in office. He would like an accommodation with Ms Bhutto and some kind of conciliation instead of letting her free to campaign against him in various forms and from various fora. He does not feel comfortable to see her undertake long trips to major countries like France, Britain and the United States where she exposes the lapses of his government, and is well received by the top leaders, as done in France earlier this month. Hence Chaudhri Nisar Ali, Minister for Petroleum, following his return from the United States this month, spoke of the urgency for political reconciliation and warned of the foreign pressures to come on Pakistan. His words carry weight with his good friend, the PM.

Even after 12 years the Afghan war is yet to end and peace come. Even after that, it remains to be seen how

many of the over three million Afghan refugees with their Kalashnikovs and long supply line for export of heroin would return home. The Kashmir crisis has the potentials of sparking a war with India. With the US aid suspended, American pressure on Pakistan to give up its "nuclear programme" or face tough hidden or open penalties continues when Pakistan has a series of major economic problems. The government continues in its inexcusably profligate ways while paying lip service to economy measures.

Look at the alarming increase in bomb explosions which are clearly foreign-inspired and allegedly to check our support to the Kashmiris and Sikhs despite our official denial. If to add to that, the PM has the Jamaat Islami and the JUI mounting pressure on him, the Shias talk of open agitation if those who killed Allama Syed Arif Hussaini are not apprehended and punished.

As if all that was not enough, his own IJI MNAs [members of National Assembly] have been pressuring him to make them ministers, and he has responded extravagantly by expanding the cabinet by 150 percent to raise the number to 50, which has drawn severe criticism from many sides.

Many of such pressures on him could ease if he opts for a real conciliation with the opposition in place of the nauseous confrontation that has vitiated our politics and disillusioned the people altogether.

IJI, JI Headed Toward Separation

JI Leaders Angry

92AS0133A Karachi DAWN in English 26 Sep 91
pp 1, 7

[Article by Nisar Osmani: "Angry JI May Decide Fate of IJI"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore—When leaders of the parties of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance Ittehad] gather here on Sept 29 at the Muslim League House to discuss the agenda that could determine the very fate of the alliance, the Jamaat-i-Islami would be going to the conference table in a state of anger and disenchantment.

The impression gathered by this correspondent in an hour-long interview with the Jamaat's Amir, Qazi Husain Ahmad, at Mansura was that the party's equation with the Muslim League and the Government had further suffered since the top leaders of the two bodies met last month and signed a joint declaration, raising hopes that the 'ceasefire' could probably lead to an abiding peace.

The Jamaat Amir who spoke rather openly and frankly, made pointed references to various issues expressing his displeasure and disappointment. He said, "not a single promise made by the Prime Minister at our meeting last month has been fulfilled except that a meeting of the heads of the parties in the IJI has been convened. For

instance, he has done nothing to amend the constitution to establish the supremacy of the Holy Quran and the Sunnah. Nor has he taken any step to check violence in Karachi. Even those persons whose names had been mentioned in the FIR [First Information Report] for indulging in violence had not been arrested."

"The factual position," he says, "is that a faction of the League has been constantly lobbying that the IJI should be ignored and the Muslim League's identity should be revived. It is at the instance of this lobby which includes powerful personalities like Mr Mohammad Khan Junejo and Mr Ghulam Hyder Wyne that Premier Nawaz Sharif has chosen to get rid of the IJI flag and started using the Muslim League flag."

The Qazi Sahib is bitter that not a single meeting of the heads of parties in the IJI has been convened since Mian Nawaz Sharif took over as Prime Minister, although under the constitution of the alliance, such a meeting should be called at least once every month. "The alliance has never been taken into confidence while framing various government policies nor has its forum been used for the purpose of 'mushawarat' (consultation)."

Qazi Husain Ahmad went on: "Even on the important question of the Twelfth Amendment, they did not bother to consult the IJI. Similarly, the decision regarding the surrender of unlicensed arms was publicised on television without bothering to take the parties in the alliance into confidence but once it backfired, everybody disowned any role in decision-making."

He conceded that some joint meetings of the parliamentary parties supporting the Prime Minister had taken place to which the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] and the ANP [Awami National Party] had also been invited. Although such meetings were useful in the sense that some members made positive speeches to advise moderation in policy-making, broad policy outlines were decided before they were taken up at such meetings.

He said, "I wonder who is framing government policies. Some people talk of the kitchen cabinet. Well, eminent ministers such as Nisar Ali, Malik Naem, Chaudhri Shujaat and Mr Siddiq Kanjoo have been complaining that they are not being taken into confidence. The MQM says the policies are being prepared by the Jamaat-i-Islami. The Jamaat's complaint is that nobody knows where these policies are being framed. Apparently there is no forum for mutual consultation."

He added in a lighter vein, "but there are some people who believe that the policies are in fact decided by the Panch Piyarey (the five favoured ones)—the two brothers Mian Nawaz Sharif and Mian Shahbaz Sharif, two other brothers Mr Anwar Zahid and Mr Akram Zaki, and Mr Justice (ret'd) Fazl-i-Mahmood Fazli who drafted the Shariat Bill."

In his opinion, the Muslim League's bid to seek the support of the MQM was understandable as a government in Sindh could not be formed without their support. But the inclusion of the Awami National Party (ANP) in the Cabinet was not necessary. The ANP, he insisted, had been known for its consistent views on Afghanistan and Kashmir. One could describe them as "the Afghan lobby and the Bharati lobby."

The Jamaat Amir claimed, "my personal information is that the President is interested in the promotion of the ANP and it is because of his interest that the ANP members have been inducted into the cabinet."

He went on, "Again, it was because of the personal interest of the President that the ANP nominees were elected in the Oct 90 elections. The Muslim League developed a soft corner for the ANP and it was with the support of the former that the ANP could get so many seats. By themselves they would have probably not been able to bag a single seat."

He maintained that the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Chief Minister, Mir Afzal Khan, who was caretaker Chief Minister at the time of the elections, had himself told him that he had been given the task of ensuring the rout of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] caring little as to who emerged as the winner. Mr Afzal Khan had further told him that he was carrying out his assignment.

Qazi Husain Ahmad claimed that "even the then Adviser to the President, Mr Ijlal Haider Zaidi, was heard saying that he would see to it that the ANP got seven seats in the National Assembly." That explained why the Jamaat lost the Dir seat which had been almost its home borough.

As far as Sindh was concerned, he said, there was a free for all there. The IJI was not working as a cohesive alliance there. Karachi and Hyderabad had been handed over to the MQM. In Balochistan, Mr Bugti was given a free hand while the ANP was supported in the NWFP. Thus for the purpose of contesting election as an alliance, the IJI had been confined to the Punjab."

When asked why after the Jamaat and the ANP or the former NAP [National Awami Party] had been together in various opposition front including the anti-Ayub COP [Combined Opposition Parties], the DAC [Direct Action Committee], UDF [United Democratic Front] and the PNP [Pakistan National Party], etc., his party had now developed an allergy to the ANP, Qazi Husain Ahmed evaded a direct answer. "Everybody knows they have been close to the Bharati lobby on Kashmir. Similarly, in Afghanistan, they are playing the game of the Great Powers. They would never let the Mujahideen form their government. They would rather prefer a weak and monarchic set-up in Kabul to the one led by the Mujahideen whom they call Fundamentalist."

The factual position, according to him, was that in Afghanistan, they wanted to impose those forces against

whom the Jamaat had fought for so many years. "They only want a broad-based coalition under Najibullah which can also accommodate the Communists."

"In Kashmir, the Indian lobby of which the ANP is a part, had been trying to create an atmosphere of despair, it says that in the event of the armed struggle by the freedom fighters there will be bloodshed and destruction and that a solution is possible only within the broad framework of the Indian Constitution," Qazi Husain Ahmed said.

Maintaining that there was a basic difference in the postures and policies of the ANP and the Jamaat, he said that the inclusion of the ANP in the Government was "not in the national interest as the ANP continues to stick to its stands of Afghanistan and Kashmir."

In response to a question on the possibilities of any cooperation with the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], particularly the PPP, he said, "I repeat that I don't foresee any alliance in the near future. But we keep meeting each other every now and then to try and understand each other's points of view. The People's Party, after all, has a large following. No party can afford to ignore a party with a popular base. And confrontation between the Jamaat and the PPP started when some Leftist elements joined the latter. But then, the PPP is also like any other party and, of course, there are always factions in every party."

Asked if in view of the "deteriorating law and order situation in Sindh there could be any cooperation between the affected and oppressed parties," he said such cooperation would have to be gradual and not abrupt.

On the local elections, he said no decision had been taken at the central level but the organisations at lower level had been allowed to cooperate with other parties.

"It can be with the PPP in one area and the Muslim League in another," he added.

Qazi Husain Ahmed was of the view that if Islam-loving and honest people with a principled stand on national issues could form a front, it could create a ray of hope and attract the attention of the masses. They would be returned in the elections and enjoy the confidence of the people. The politico-religious parties could also join such a front.

He was severely critical of the MQM which, he charged, spared no opportunity to persecute its opponents, particularly the dissidents in their own party. The MQM, he alleged, had full freedom to operate, the understanding being that it must support the Jam Government which in turn protected and encouraged it. He was of the opinion that the policies being pursued by the Sindh Government while dealing with its political opponents had made Sindh vulnerable and the volatile situation there could be exploited by India.

Serious Internal Crisis

92AS0133B Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 26 Sep 91 pp 10-11

[Article by Rashid Ahmad Khan: "The Crisis of IJI"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) is currently passing through a serious internal crisis. Some of its components have dissociated themselves from it while others like Jama'at-i-Islami (JI) are threatening to pull out of the alliance. In the opinion of many an observer, the IJI is on the verge of disintegration and is going to meet the same fate as its predecessors, i.e., Jugtu Front (1954), COP [Combined Opposition Parties] (1964) and PNA [Pakistan National Alliance] (1977) did.

Is the present crisis of IJI an intrinsic one; is it being deliberately created to win the good-will of certain especially outside powers? What can be the effect of the disintegration of the IJI on the government of Nawaz Sharif? An attempt would be made to answer these questions in this essay.

The Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) was formed to confront Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in the 1988 elections. Originally, it consisted of seven political parties and groups—Muslim League, Jama'at-i-Islami, Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam (D) [JUI], Jamiat Ahle Hadith, Jamiat-ul-Mashaikh, Khaksar Tehrik and Hizb-i-Jihad. Before the formation of IJI Muslim League (ML) had split into two groups (Fida group and Junejo group) as a result of differences between Nawaz Sharif and former prime minister Mohammad Khan Junejo. Muslim League (Junejo group) had, instead, formed a separate alliance with Tehrik-i-Istiqal (TI) and Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan [JUP] which at the time was a united party headed by Shah Ahmad Noorani.

It is said that apart from the split between Nawaz Sharif and Mohammad Khan, the reluctance of the ML groups headed by the latter to join IJI was due to strong resentment among the old and senior Muslim Leaguers against JI which had been so closely associated with the dictatorial regime of late General Zia-ul-Haq. But, it is claimed, that ISI [Information Service of India] convinced these elements that JI's inclusion into IJI was absolutely essential in order to deprive the PPP of an overwhelming electoral victory in the 1988 elections.

At first, therefore, it was the ML which felt uncomfortable within the IJI fold. Before the present JI onslaught on the IJI leadership, it was the ML which was keen to maintain its separate identity and even dropped hints to pull the Junejo faction out of the IJI.

The divergence between IJI and ML came into the open as early as in September, 1990, when the IJI tickets for NA [National Assembly] and PAs [Provincial Assembly] constituencies were being distributed. Disagreeing with the decisions of the IJI parliamentary board, the ML secretary-general, Iqbal Ahmad Khan, gave a call to all

Muslim Leaguers intending to contest to file their nomination papers whether they had been given IJI tickets or not. Iqbal Ahmad Khan himself filed nomination papers in a Lahore constituency where Mian Omar Hayat had been awarded the IJI ticket.

In Rawalpindi (NA-38) where Sheikh Rashid Ahmad was nominated as an IJI candidate, Anwar-ul-Haq, the son of late General Zia-ul-Haq, filed this nomination papers. His elder brother Ijaz-ul-Haq who was the chief organiser of the Muslim League had already filed his nomination papers in this constituency as a cover candidate. Ijaz-ul-Haq had refused to accept IJI decision declaring "IJI has no authority to issue ticket to any one."

Similarly, Iqbal Ahmad Khan had refused to withdraw his candidacy from the Lahore (NA-94) constituency. He did so only after a lot of pressure was brought to bear upon him and, reportedly, promised a Senate seat in future. In the matter of other seats, also, the ML accused Nawaz Sharif of showing a heavy bias in favour of Jama'at-i-Islami.

ML leaders belonging to Junejo faction, therefore, were always complaining against Nawaz Sharif for being a stooge in the hands of the Jama'at-i-Islami. Hanif Ramay who was denied an IJI ticket in 1988 elections used to say that IJI means 'I' (for Nawaz Sharif) and 'J' (for Jama'at-i-Islami).

Some shrewd observers, however, believed that it was not Nawaz Sharif who was playing into the hands of Jama'at, rather Nawaz Sharif was using Jama'at for his own political ends. According to these observers, Nawaz Sharif needed Jama'at to confront PPP. The moment he succeeded in removing PPP from power, he would, without the loss of a moment, ditch the JI.

This looked very much likely when IJI president Nawaz Sharif formed an alliance with MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] and ANP [Awami National Party] over strong objections from the Jama'at side. The fissure between JI and IJI became wider when IJI high command decided to accept ANP as coalition partner in the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] following 1990 elections, despite opposition by the Jama'at. In protest the JI refused to accept ministers in the federal government and opened its guns against the largest component of the alliance, namely ML, for ignoring other parties grouped into the alliance while formulating the internal and external policies of the government.

The crisis created in the Persian Gulf by Iraq's invasion and subsequent occupation of Kuwait took the JI further away from Nawaz Sharif as the stance taken by Jama'at on the Gulf crisis was entirely at variance with that of the federal government. This disagreement over the Gulf crisis was followed by the refusal by JI to endorse federal government's original position on Shariat Bill and 12th Amendment Bill.

But JI was not alone in falling out with IJI over the Gulf crisis, Shariat Bill and 12th Amendment. To the great embarrassment of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, his own cabinet colleague Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi who had joined IJI with his faction of JUP(S) openly differed over government's policy on the Gulf crisis. Maulana Niazi later resigned from the cabinet but did not fall out of IJI.

However, JI received the real jolt when the government moved to present a draft Shariat Bill in the National Assembly ostensibly to fulfil one of its promises contained in the IJI election manifesto. A key ally of IJI, the JUI(F) refused to support the IJI on the official Shariat Bill in May last, as its leadership insisted on the adoption by the National Assembly. The Shariat Bill was originally passed by the Senate.

Furthermore, the man who had nominated Nawaz Sharif for the post of the president of IJI in 1988, Maulana Samiul Haq, the senior vice-president of IJI and head of JUI(S) also held back his support to the government on Shariat Bill. As if that was not enough the Maulana began to openly criticise the government of Nawaz Sharif for what he called "deviating from the manifesto of IJI." His criticism of the government became so open and severe that the PM [Prime Minister] had to issue a warning to the Maulana, reminding him that he was elected to a seat in the Senate on IJI ticket for which he had to abide by the IJI discipline.

Although Maulana Samiul Haq and his faction voted in favour of it, official relations with IJI leadership remained estranged. He abstained consecutively from three important meetings of IJI parliamentary party held during the period from April to July 1991. Apart from the reported annoyance of the Maulana over the promulgation of official Shariat Bill, the other cause of contention was said to be the IJI's preferential attitude toward the Muslim League "in sheer disregard of other allies."

In July it was reported that JUI(S) had started contacting other component parties of the IJI to form a united front against ML which, they alleged, was monopolising the decision-making process both at the federal and provincial level to the exclusion of other member parties. It was alleged that when the formation of district advisory boards was announced in July last, the IJI member-parties were completely ignored by the ML-dominated government.

The JUI(S) and JI perception of IJI being dominated by ML to the exclusion of other component parties has also been shared by another important personality and close ally of the IJI government the former interim prime minister, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi.

In a statement last month, the chairman of NPP [National Progressive Party], Jatoi, disclosed that it was a fact that the leadership of the IJI component parties had never been consulted on major national issues by the government during the last ten months. In the interview during which he made this statement (August 21) he also said that it was only in the larger national interest and

political stability in the country that he and his party were continuing to extend co-operation to the government of Nawaz Sharif.

The IJI seemed further close to disintegration when the government proposed a constitutional amendment in the form of a bill to own itself which powers which in the eyes of even the MNAs belonging to PM's own party, i.e., ML, were arbitrary and negated the fundamental democratic principles. Not only the IJI, but the unity of ML itself was threatened. This threat was altering the original draft of the 12th Amendment Bill which provided for no special powers for the executive.

The government managed to present a semblance of unity in ranks of the IJI at the passage of 12th Amendment Bill. All the 143 IJI MNAs [members of National Assembly] along with those from ANP and MQM voted for the Bill. However, JUI(F) finally parted with IJI; the estrangement between JUI(S) and the government did not cease to exist and JI moved further away from the IJI leadership, threatening to quit the alliance if its demands were not met within the next two months.

The recent reaction by the Punjab chief minister, Ghulam Hyder Wyne to the harsh criticism of the IJI leadership by JI chief has further worsened the matter. Wyne's statement is tantamount to a clear warning to JI to either observe the discipline of the alliance or quit. The inclusion of two ANP men in the new cabinet and the retention of MQM ministers are a clear indication that the government of Nawaz Sharif would not give much weight [to] JI's objections. Murtaza Pooya, the leader of Hizb-i-Jehad and central information secretary of the IJI has already revolted against the alliance.

Looking at the character of the political outlook of the IJI components who have fallen out or are in the process of falling out with the government of Nawaz Sharif, one finds that they are the ones who supported Saddam Husayn in the Gulf crisis; favoured supremacy of Shariat over the parliament and press for a military solution to the Afghanistan problem—stances which caused great embarrassment to the Nawaz Sharif government. In this context, it can be argued, their departure from the IJI fold may be a welcome development for the government. For, in this way, the government may get itself freed from a "fundamentalist" label without incurring the blame for betraying its former allies.

In the opinion of many observers, therefore, the present crisis of the IJI might also be the result of a deliberate attempt by the government to edge out those components who caused embarrassment in the past and might create further trouble in the implementation of modified policies of the government on such important issues like Afghanistan, relations with the US and privatisation programmes.

As far as the impact of JI's departure from the IJI is concerned, many are convinced that JI would never volunteer out of the alliance, because since the late 1960s

when Yahya Khan took over as CMLA [Chief Martial Law Administrator]-president, its politics has always been power-based.

It's present tirade against Nawaz Sharif is nothing as CM [Chief Minister] Punjab Ghulam Hyder Wyne has alleged, but the tactics of blackmailing. The tone of the Punjab CM's address at the press conference at Lahore shows that the Muslim League is ready for the consequences of JI's dissociation from the IJI. In other words, the government of Nawaz Sharif does not feel threatened by the withdrawal of JI from the IJI.

IJI 'Disappoints the People'

92AS0133C Lahore THE NATION in English 1 Oct 91
pp 1, 3

[Text] Lahore—Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] Amir Qazi Hussain Ahmad has declared his dissatisfaction with the results of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] heads' meeting on Sunday, and has reasserted his right to continue making public his disagreements with the IJI government on matters of public policy.

Addressing a press conference at a local hotel on Monday afternoon, unprecedented in being separate from the official briefing earlier in the day, Qazi Hussain also affirmed that he and NPP [National People's Party] chief Mustafa Jatoi had opposed the expulsion of Agha Murtaza Pooya's Hizbe Jihad from the alliance, and dissociated the Jamaat from the decision.

He also disclosed that IJI President and Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif had asked the Jamaat to bring up the matter of the arrest of MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] activists accused of the murders of 10 Jamaat activists in Karachi separately and on a bilateral basis.

Qazi Hussain told newsmen that in 11 months the IJI government had disappointed the people, yet it wanted that none of the IJI components should open its mouth in public about its failures, which he described as unjust. He said there was no ethical principle which obliged the Jamaat to support or justify the errors of the government.

He said the most important manifesto promise of the IJI was the Islamisation of all aspects of society, ranging from the economy to education, media and anti-corruption, but no steps had been taken. He said that he had pointed this out in the public, and had reiterated this in the IJI heads' meeting. He also said that he stood by his public statements over the last few weeks, critical of the government.

Listing the issues which he and other IJI leaders had brought up before the meeting, he mentioned the co-operatives issue in the Punjab, especially the involvement of government members in the affair, and the law and order situation, particularly the involvement of the MQM, who are IJI coalition partners, in murders, even according to government intelligence agencies.

He said the meeting was also asked for a clear declaration that the IJI government would not accord any form of recognition to Israel, in connivance with the American conspiracy to force the Arab states to do so, declaring the issue an Arab one. He said it was also demanded that the IJI government assist the Kashmiri and Afghan mujahideen, and not to take part in an international settlement which excluded the mujahideen from participation.

Fielding questions, he said the PM [Prime Minister] had faced criticism from all sides for the extreme delay in the holding of the heads' meeting, the first since January, as well as lack of consultations at the party chief level. He added that the IJI constitution had originally specified monthly meetings, but even quarterly meetings were good enough, provided that before taking any important policy decision, the government should summon a heads' meeting. Quoting examples of decisions taken without heads' approval, he mentioned the Cabinet expansion and the original 12th Amendment draft, saying that it was not enough to consult the parties individually, it was essential that the IJI heads be collectively acknowledged as the sole policy-making body of the IJI.

He said that the Fakhr committee which had been set up was supposed to deal with both outstanding inter-party issues as well as processing the Council of Islamic Ideology recommendations for legislation, but added that previous experience had shown that such committees had been previously more time-wasting devices than organs for constructive activity.

Asked about the heads' rejection of Professor Ghafoor Ahmad's resignation as IJI Secretary-General, Qazi Hussain said that the meeting had left it to the Jamaat to decide whether or not he was to continue or whether he was to be replaced by another Jamaat nominee. He said that a final decision on this would be taken in consultation with Professor Ghafoor.

Asked about the meeting's decision to amend the Constitution to make the Quran and Sunnah supreme, he said the Jamaat would press for a draft bill to be laid before the next heads' meeting, noting that there had been no time-frame set at the present juncture.

No Chance of Compromise

92AS0133D Lahore THE NATION in English 2 Oct 91 pp 1, 4

[Article by M.A. Niazi "IJI Inches Forward to Break-Up"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore—The three-year-old IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] alliance has inched forward to its break-up, with the signals sent by the PML [Pakistan Muslim League] and the Jama'at-i-Islami [JI] showing little chance of an end to the confrontation, even though the PML has probably done its best to placate the Jama'at.

One of the most interesting trends emerging was the cooperation between Mustafa Jatoi of the NPP [National People's Party] and the Jama'at's Qazi Hussain Ahmad during the meeting, most clearly signalled by their being the only two dissenters to the decision to expel the Hizbe Jihad. Another point to note was the key role of Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Haider Wyne as the prosecutor against the Hizb and the Jama'at.

While Mian Nawaz has made commitments at the meeting which forward the overt Jama'at agenda, he was unable to deal with the real stickingpoint of the Jama'at, the violence against its cadres in Karachi at the hands of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement].

The bind in which both Mian Nawaz and Qazi Hussain find themselves is a dangerous one. Mian Nawaz has not the control over the MQM that he has over his own party, while Qazi Hussain faces an awkward situation within his own party, especially in Karachi.

Moving forward from the League house meeting, Qazi Hussain is going to be under internal pressures to keep up the rhetoric. It is significant that, since the violent reaction to the killing of Ehsan Ansari on August 3 and his continuing onslaught, no more Jama'at or Jamiat workers have been killed in Karachi, even though the 'fatality rate' had crossed three a month. That is a tacit sign that Mian Nawaz has used whatever good offices he has with the Sindh government to ensure an easing up.

However, that still leaves Qazi Hussain in difficulties. If he keeps hammering away, he may be saving his party-men, but he ends up committing his party more and more to an anti-PML stance, and also weakening the alliance. Though the Jama'at has no intention of leaving the IJI, the example of the Hizbe Jihad is before it. Hizb Chief Murtaza Pooya has actually expressed the suspicion that his party's expulsion might have been more a signal to the Jama'at rather than anything else. The request for the return of Professor Ghafoor was basically a matter of politeness; it is unlikely he will return to his post, and it is equally unlikely his replacement will be from Karachi, where the IJI is extremely unpopular among the Jama'at cadres.

The Qazi-Jatoi combination is an imponderable. Whether it means the development of a new political understanding which would bode no good to Mian Nawaz, or whether it was simply a coincidence of feeling, is still not clear. The former caretaker Prime Minister [PM] is supporting Mian Nawaz for the time being, but he has probably not given up his ambitions. Not known for hastiness, he is probably biding his time, and may well have been wooing the Jama'at against future need. For the time being, Jatoi's best hope lies in an intraparty coup, in which the seven Jama'at votes might prove crucial.

The apparent silence of Muhammad Khan Junejo during the meeting is also worth noting. As the head of the alliance's largest party, he has no real interest in the removal or embarrassment of its President, who is a

party subordinate. However, this was another sign that he has given in to the pressures that would leave him no longer an active contender for the office he once held. However, there is still confusion: his son Asad has not taken up the PM's Advisership he was awarded at the Cabinet expansion.

The break-up of the IJI was to be the signal for a major PML shake-up, which was to see Mian Nawaz make formal his present effective control of the party, leaving Junejo merely a ceremonial head. That at least was delayed. Whether Junejo is particularly interested in delaying this is a moot question.

Mian Nawaz also had to listen to a lot of griping about his failure to call more frequent meetings of the IJI heads. A somewhat technical point is at stake, which has often not been solved in better established democracies: where is ultimate control supposed to lie, in the parliamentary party or the extra-parliamentary supreme organ? Mian Nawaz, for obvious reasons would argue for the former, the Jama'at in particular presses for the second. Normally, the more overtly ideological a party, the stronger the control of the extra-parliamentary organ, which is reflected in this difference too: the Jama'at has a much stronger ideological orientation than Mian Nawaz.

The Jama'at is fully exploiting its advantage as a party with a relatively clearly defined ideology, as the IJI decisions emerging from the meeting show. There would be no strong opposition to the Constitutional Amendment making Quran and Sunna supreme, nor to the implementation of the Council of Islamic Ideology recommendations, while the foreign policy resolutions also had the Jama'at slant. While it is possible to think of those with a disinclination to Islamise who were attending the meeting, there were none with the sort of compelling ideological compulsions that the Jama'at has.

Ch Wyne also proved his worth to Mian Nawaz at the meeting. Though the PM is known to be uneasy about Ch Wyne's abilities as Chief Minister, he has once again showed his confidence in his politicking skills. Whether this leads to any change in Wyne's function in the near future is still to be seen.

However, whatever the fate of the Punjab's Chief Minister, the IJI is in internal difficulties, both because of the compulsions of governings, as well as because of its internal contradictions. So far, Mian Nawaz has tried to broaden his support base. For the first time, by expelling the Hizbe Jihad, he has narrowed it, even if the narrowing has not exactly been a major loss. He has played the pivotal role in keeping the IJI together. So has the Jama'at. The longer they remain at loggerheads, the less likely it is that the first political combination to defeat the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in electoral battle will survive.

IJI Dissident Zahid Sarfraz's Speech Acclaimed

92AS0167F Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
23 Oct 91 p 12

[Article by Mohammad Yasin]

[Text] Islamabad, 22 October: IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] dissident Mian Zahid Sarfraz stole the lime-light today when he delivered one of the best speeches on the cooperatives scandal in the National Assembly.

And surprisingly enough members from both sides of the House including his detractors on the Treasury Benches listened to him in pin-drop silence for full 45 minutes.

When Ch Shujaat Hussain who, along with the Prime Minister is at the centre of controversy, made a feeble attempt to rise on a point of personal explanation, the Speaker directed him to give his explanation after the speech of Zahid Sarfraz. Two PDA MNAs [People's Democratic Alliance—Members of National Assembly] surrendered their time for the sake of Zahid Sarfraz. He spoke in matter-of-fact style without rhetoric. His speech was studded with facts and figures. He really lived up to what he prefers to be known as a political technocrat. Remaining within the ambit of the subject he mounted the strongest attack yet on the Prime Minister and the Interior Minister. He proceeded to establish his thesis gradually. The documents and the logic on which he based his case of showing the involvement of Sharifs and Chaudhrys in the collapse of the cooperatives appealed to reason. And he succeeded in putting them in the dock in a way that many an opposition stalwart had failed to do.

His strategy was to attack the Prime Minister and what he called his coterie for their role in hastening the collapse of the cooperatives. He did not touch the President at all. He expected the President to play his role in saving the democratic institutions by acting against the corrupt elements. He pinpointed the basic fallacies of the by-laws of the cooperative societies. He also dilated on the conflict between the by-laws and the law of the lands. He showed by marshalling facts and figures that in one single day, the applications of the Prime Minister and the Interior Minister were approved for membership of the cooperatives and in one day they got the loans. This he termed the beginning of the default. Zahid Sarfraz said that the collapse of the cooperatives was a windfall a veritable Monte Carlo for the two families.

He spoke of the new companies that the two families were setting up. And he posed the question: why are they in such haste to undertake new enterprises? 'Mian Zahid Sarfraz's contention was that had the Prime Minister and the Interior Minister not taken loans to the tune of Rs.[rupees]135 crore from the cooperatives, they would not have collapsed.

He foresaw a doomsday scenario if timely action was not taken against the individuals involved in the scandal.

Said he rhetorically: "If the Prime Minister does not go, the country would not survive."

Later talking to newsmen in cafeteria, Zahid Sarfraz said that some of the Ministers including Lt. Gen. Majid Malik, Malik Naeem, Laleka and Asadur Rehman had tried to dissuade him from taking part in the debate. He said that quite a number of IJI back-benchers had tacitly supported him. He might be correct in his assertion. There were no dissenting voices from the ruling party's back-benchers.

Another speech that drew the attention of the House was that of Minority MNA Julius Salik who pleaded the cause of the have-nots. When the Speaker asked him not to speak as if it were a public meeting, he retorted that only two days ago Federal Minister Sheikh Rashid had addressed the House in a fiery manner. He said that the masses had lost faith in the MNAs. Such was the reputation of the legislators that nobody would rent House to an MNA, he said.

Ghulam Dastgir, Minister for Local Bodies, like many IJI stalwarts digressed from the topic of the discussion and focussed instead on the Opposition leaders. He made some personal remarks against Ghulam Mustafa Khar when he was not present in the House. On his return to the House, Khar took up this matter with the Speaker. He repaid Dastgir in the same coin. The Speaker expunged the objectionable words from the speeches of the two MNAs.

Earlier Dastgir had charged that the tone of bitterness marking the speeches of the Treasury Benches was in reaction to the speech delivered by Benazir Bhutto. At this, Ms. Bhutto said on a point of personal explanation that it was the job of the Speaker to regulate the proceedings of the House. "I cannot be held responsible for that," she added.

Explaining as to why she used the word 'Goonda,' in the House, Begum Bhutto said that a gentleman would not use dirty words and that's why she had employed the word "Goonda."

Earlier on the move by Iftikhar Gilani and Mahmud Achakzai for expunging objectionable words used by some members during their speeches in the House, the Speaker announced the formation of a committee consisting of two members from each side to expunge from the tapes the foul words used by the members. Benazir Bhutto suggested that the words that have appeared in the newspapers on that day's proceedings be expunged.

IJI's Inefficient Handling of Finances Viewed

92AS0002A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 Sep 91 p 6

[Article by Aslam Sheikh: "Multiple Financial Crisis"]

[Text] Within two months of the new fiscal year, the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government seems to be

confronted with a financial crisis of alarming proportions on more than one front. Indeed the grand design of its so-called economic and financial liberalism is faltering precariously.

In the first instance the credibility of its privatisation programme has been seriously compromised by the controversial deal on MCB [Muslim Commercial Bank] as well as politically-motivated distribution of licenses to do private banking. Secondly, the stinking cooperatives scandal, culminating last week in a rescue operation for the major cooperatives doing illegal banking has exploded the myth that the private sector can do no harm and the economy's salvation lies in massive denationalisation. If the state has to pay ultimately for all the acts of omission and commission by private companies, then where is the logic and the sense to privatise everything, above all financial institutions which are most vulnerable to individual greed and lust for unbridled profits?

Muddle

But the financial muddle of last week has not been confined to the cooperatives only. The much heralded National Finance Commission's [NFC] Award shaped by the present government to redistribute revenues between the Centre and the provinces is reported to be in trouble too. The Council of Common Interests (CCI) is to meet on September 16 (Monday) to sort out the mess arising out of the alleged WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] refusal to pay the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] its share of profits from the generation and sale of hydel power from the stations located in the latter's territory. Under the NFC Award, WAPDA was supposed to pay NWFP Rs rupees]50 crore every month from July this year. WAPDA is reportedly unable to meet this obligation because it has its own development programme to look after. Some reports suggest that the Centre has agreed to repay these profits from its own coffers for the time being. But does it have enough resources to appease the NWFP or is there going to be another mini-budget for the purpose?

Telephones

Another trouble spot of the federal government is its financial relationship with the newly-liberated Pakistan Telecommunications Corporation [PTC]. PTC, like some other major public sector corporation, are no longer part of the Federal budget in anticipation of their partial or full privatisation and which are to generate their own resources. From September 7 this year, a 25 percent excise duty on telephone calls has been levied to mobilise additional resources. The Finance Ministry says it is the in-house arrangement while PTC is of the view that the excise duty which will fetch an additional Rs 2 billion to the government would benefit only the government's treasury. It should not be treated as an increase in telephone tariff. On the bills also a 25 percent increase will be identified as an excise duty separately from the main charges. To the consumers, however, this

kind of semantic controversy is beside the point. The fact remains that its income will be subject to further erosion from October onward. Rather a bolt from the blue!

This year's budget strategy also envisaged a smaller federal outfit as part of the move to transfer resources from the Centre to the provinces in order to effect some saving in the galloping non-development expenditure. But in this case also there is no sign that the promise will be redeemed.

Stuck

In fact at the end of the fiscal year the government will be stuck with another deficit because not only have the salaries of federal employees been enhanced including those of the president, the PM [prime minister], and ministers, but the federal cabinet has also been expanded in a big way. It may be difficult to calculate the cost of a minister or his deputy to the exchequer because all the expenditure is not easily identifiable. But apart from the bare salary, many perks and unforeseen expenses on tours etc. also go into the making of a minister's monthly budget. This perhaps inflates the real cost more than what is visible to the naked eye in budgetary papers. It may, therefore, run into many lacs a year for each minister.

We already know from an official update that fiscal 1991 that ended on 30 June, did so with a higher deficit than was projected in the federal budget unfolded in early June. The overall fiscal gap is Rs 8 billion more than the Rs 56 billion foreseen earlier. Naturally this complicates the financial management of fiscal 1992, as is evident from new attempts to squeeze the consumer in case of telephone charges. It looks as though the inflow of foreign aid which also generates rupees for the budget, will be more uncertain than the budget's assumption is. The budget looks forward to foreign aid of up to Rs 48 billion. There is also the danger that further erosion of the rupee's value in relation to the dollar and other foreign currencies will mean added burden on the budgetary resources.

Undoubtedly a financial crisis of alarming dimensions confronts the country. It requires a bold response involving sacrifices not merely from the lower and other layers of the middle classes but also from those which monopolise the bulk of the agricultural and urban wealth. Both for income generation and expenditure reduction, a major surgical operation is therefore necessary. This will imply not only taxing the windfall gains of the urban and rural land grabbers but also drastic readjustments in such runaway costs of civil and military establishment which are easily avoidable. All this expenditure—which is now nearly Rs 200 billion—neither contributes to administrative efficiency or social welfare and least of all to genuine national security.

Commentary Criticizes IJI's Economic Management

92AS0140D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
26 Sep 91 p 6

[Article by Farhatullah Babar: "Sitting on a Volcano"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] A mismanaged economy is like a volcano which can erupt any time. The government says that the decision early this week by the IMF to release the last tranche of the 4-year loan is an endorsement of its sound economic management. But whose endorsement really matters; that of the IMF or the people? Eleven months into office it would be worthwhile to examine the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government's management of national economy, certification by the IMF notwithstanding.

Three distinct areas in which such performance will have to be assessed are: privatisation, the budget and the cooperatives scam. First taken the privatisation through which the PM [prime minister] believes lies the route to self-reliance.

Despite claims to denationalise all the 120-odd state-run units within six months, so far only two banks i.e. the MCB [Muslim Commercial Bank] and the ABL [Allied Bank] have been privatised. And how? The MCB was given neither to the lowest bidder nor to the previous owners as was initially promised but to a party closely connected with the ruling hierarchy. And the shares of the much smaller Allied Bank were sold to its workers at a much higher price than the shares of the larger Muslim Commercial Bank.

Contrary to the promise that privatisation will begin with the sale of loss-making units it actually commenced with the sale of profitable ventures. Expensive ads were placed in the national and international press for the sale of the most profitable concern i.e. the Pakistan Telecommunication Corporation but when alarm bells were sounded that it amounted to selling national security, the plan was quietly shelved. The thoughtless manner in which the state-run units are being denationalised has made the private investor wary of buying despite an assurance by the government that the denationalisation policy will be given constitutional protection.

Licenses were issued to ten new banks in the private sector. Of these five were those parties which had earlier been rejected by the special State Bank committee. Their names were, however, added to the list by someone towards the end of the selection process. Despite protests there has been a stony silence. 'A policy of blunder and plunder' is how a critic has described the denationalisation drive.

Now take the budget. A mini budget in mid-year is a bad economic management. Unless resorted to under abnormal circumstances it only shows that at the time of budget making certain harsh economic realities were

concealed from the public only to ward off protests and buy time. When the current year's budget was presented in the National Assembly the leader of the Opposition challenged that the government will bring in mid-term budget before the year was out. To this the Finance Minister retorted on the floor of the House that he would resign rather than bring in a mid-term budget.

But what has happened? Is the 25 percent surcharge on the telephone calls from the 7th of this month not a manifestation of the mid-term budget? Railway and PIA [Pakistan International Airline] fares are also being raised and so are the electricity and gas charges. What else is a mid-term budget if not raising duties and charges in mid-year? But will Mr. Sartaj Aziz now resign?

The IMF simply wanted the government to reduce the fiscal deficit from the current 7.7 percent to 4.6 percent of the GDP [gross domestic product]. As the government was unable to cut the non-developmental expenditure on the civil-military bureaucracy which had further been raised by appointing a brigade of federal ministers, it found it convenient to raise telephone charges, fares and utility rates to meet the IMF conditionality. If the people get squeezed who cares? The IMF certificate of good economic management is there to silence them.

And take the cooperatives scam. Twenty billion rupees of over 2.5 million depositors along with the jobs of over 100,000 employees were stolen over-night by people linked to some of the highest in the IJI government. Seldom before powerful lenders conspired with equally powerful borrowers, both associated with the government of the day, and fleeced millions of depositors who have nobody to complain to.

The government this week set up a Task Force to oversee the refund of deposits to account holders. But what will the Task Force oversee when the cooperatives have no funds to refund? People know too well the fate of the 15-man Working Group set up some four months ago to 'eradicate corruption, reform police and Islamise the society.' It never met after its first meeting. The Task Force will also go the way the Working Group has gone.

The Prime Minister says that every penny of the depositors will be refunded. But how and when, he does not explain. Ch. Shujaat says that if Ms. Bhutto is really so worried about the depositors she should sell her lands and houses and give money to the poor depositors. The Punjab Chief Minister, however, is blunt and says 'the government is not responsible to pay back to the depositors.'

It has also been said that a loan of two billion rupees is being arranged from commercial banks to enable the cooperatives to repay to the depositors. Against what collateral and at what interest rate? On what terms? Has anyone given a thought to the spurt in inflation already believed to be over 20 per cent by pumping a clean unsecured loan of two billion rupees in the market without corresponding economic activity? Another financial scandal is in the making.

In the budget the Finance Minister levied tax on income from dividends and bank interest which made the already poor return on savings in government schemes far below the galloping inflation. That is why people rushed to finance cooperatives, Modarabas and other such schemes which promised higher returns. When the powerful lenders and borrowers of the cooperatives fled with the depositors' money Mr. Sartaj Aziz said, "The cooperatives had not broken any law." And the then Law Minister Ch. Amir Hussain said that it were the depositors who had broken the law because 'they were motivated by greed and most wanted to whiten their black money through these cooperatives.'

This then is the picture of economic management duly certified as clean by the IMF. Mr. Nawaz Sharif may survive another day in the office, courtesy the IMF certificate and continue building his castle. But we are sitting on the top of a volcano which when it has erupted will sweep not only his castle but also much more.

Former Speaker Meraj Calls IJI Incompetent

92AS0167A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
8 Oct 91 p 4

[Article by Javed Syed; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore, 7 October: The former speaker of the National Assembly, Malik Meraj Khalid has said the present rulers can neither save the country nor run its affairs as being incompetent.

Addressing a seminar here on the topic of 'President, Parliament and today's Pakistan,' he said Pakistan's existence and future was dark under the present situation. He said present crisis could only be averted by organising the masses on the objectives which had caused to create Pakistan. He said the people were still with the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] but there was a need to provide their emotions a great consciousness to bring about a basic change in the prevailing system.

Speaking at the seminar former Finance Minister, Dr. Mubashir Hassan said when vested groups wanted to protect their interests, they managed to bring in power the rulers like Ghulam Mohammad, Sikandar Mirza, Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, Ziaul Haq and Ghulam Ishaq Khan. He viewed that only those political leaders of the parties could organise the people who did not demonstrate the feudal and capitalist mentality while mixing them with masses. He also gave a brief account of the bureaucratic career and the trends of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan.

Earlier, the central Information Secretary of the PPP, Sulmaan Taseer made a hard hitting speech against the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government. He reminded that people had strongly opposed the looting of 22 families during Ayub Khan era. But now, he added, four families belonging to present rulers plundered the entire resources of the country. He alleged these four

families had obtained the loans amounting to Rs. [rupees] ten and a half billions from the DFI's [Development Finance Institutions] while the entire development budget of Punjab was amounting to Rs. 8 billion. He named these families as Sharif brothers of Prime Minister, Saifullahs of President Ishaq, Dr. Basharat Ellahi of late Ziaul Haq and Chaudhry brothers of Chaudhry Shujaat. He alleged that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was fully involved in the unprecedented loot and hence he could not take any action against the IJI government.

Mr. Taseer alleged that present rulers wanted to convert Pakistan into a Pakistan Limited with giving its managing agency to Ittefaq group.

Mirza Aslam Beg Reenters Political Arena

Launches Political Organization

92AS0131A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 27 Sep 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] Islamabad—Former army chief, General (Retd) Mirza Aslam Beg has called for an end to the "politics of confrontation and leg-pulling" in the country and said the government and the opposition must sit together to find solutions to vital national issues.

Addressing a press conference in Rawalpindi on Thursday evening while launching his newly formed organisation—Foundation for Research on National Defence and Security (FRIENDS)—he said it was unfortunate that the ruling and the opposition parties were constantly engaged in pulling the leg of each other, for the last three years which was a waste of time.

The major reason for this phenomenon, according to him, was the shortage of mature politicians in the country. The country must have a large number of mature politicians who should be tolerant and practise the democratic values sincerely, he said.

He was of the opinion that lack of maturity among politicians of the country was due to martial law regimes in the past which did not let democracy flourish. Asked if it was true that he played a role in the ouster of Benazir Bhutto from power he replied in the negative. He said that when President Ishaq informed him of his intention to dismiss Bhutto from the prime ministership, he had three choices open to him. One was to agree with him, secondly to resign and thirdly to impose martial law. He went for the first option since Ishaq was also the supreme commander of country's armed forces.

Answering a question, Beg said that he had established the FRIENDS after declining the government offer of a job or an assignment with it. He said he did it because he felt he could not pull along with those people in the government who did not trust him and had lost confidence in him. They thought that he posed a threat to the

government and would impose martial law. This apprehension, he added, was totally unfounded and he never thought of becoming a military ruler of Pakistan like some of his predecessors.

Beg said he honestly believed in democracy and always wanted to protect it stoutly. Had he wanted to rule, he would have done so on the death of Ziaul Haq by clamping martial law. General Beg did not name the persons in the government who, he thought, had lost confidence in him.

When a correspondent said that he was a controversial army chief in the political sense, Beg said he talked to politics but did not participate in political activities.

He told a questioner that he had no intention of entering politics because practical politics was not his field. Moreover, under the rules there was a two-year ban on a government officer to enter politics. He might think of it on the expiry of the two-years period, he added.

Regarding his controversial disagreement with the government of the day on its Gulf policy, Beg said he still stuck to his stand and would speak at length about it at some appropriate time.

Replying to a question whether he would invite politicians to speak at the seminars of his foundation, he replied in the affirmative. He also replied in the affirmative when asked if the invitees would also include Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif and opposition leader Benazir Bhutto. But he parried a question about who would be invited first, Nawaz Sharif or Bhutto.

When a correspondent said that if the research papers of his foundation went against the policies of the government of the day, it might be banned or black-listed, Beg said he would not be deterred by that. The research documents would be prepared objectively and in a non-partisan manner.

However, it would be really lamentable if the government banned his organisation or twisted its arms for being a non-conformist. That would be a negation of democracy which the government professed so loudly, he remarked.

To a question if he was satisfied with the handling of the affairs of the state by the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad government, Beg said it had its weaknesses. But the important thing was that it should be given time to overcome its weaknesses. That was why he pleaded for a dialogue between the government and the opposition, he said.

He noted that the "beauty of democracy" was that it had built-in mechanism to correct the democratic system. This mechanism must be allowed to come into play, he said.

Beg evaded a question on the conduct of the elections held after the sacking of Benazir Bhutto. He was asked whether the intelligence agencies of the military

described them fair or rigged. His reply was that he did not feel like asking this question from the intelligence agencies under him.

About FRIENDS, he said that it was a non-political, non-profitable and non-government organisation and that its funds had come from public donations and contributions. He did not give the names of donors despite repeated questions.

To a question whether the foundation would accept contribution from foreign governments or foreign organisations, Beg replied in the negative.

He told a questioner that if the government gave any research task or assignment, his foundation would be too happy to oblige it.

According to him the first lecture of the foundation would be held in second week of October on "Pakistan's security environment" and former foreign minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan was being approached to speak on this subject.

Aslam Beg will be the patron-in-chief and chairman of the board of governors of the foundation while Lt. Gen. (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin would be the senior vice-chairman, Commodore Fasahat Syed (Retd) the executive vice-chairman and Dr Syed Mutiur Rahman as secretary. Members of the board will be Aneeta Ghulam Ali, Pervez Iqbal Cheema, Mushahid Hussain, Shafqat Ali Shah Jamote, Air Marshal (Retd) Ayaz Khan, Professor Preeshan Khatak, Dr M.R. Khan, Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri, Brig. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi (Retd), Brigadier T.H. Siddiqi (Retd) and Khalid Waheed.

No Lover of Democracy

92AS0131B Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 29 Sep 91 p 10

[Text] Former COAS [Chief of Army Staff] General Mirza Aslam Beg has once again predicted war between Pakistan and India, but, as if to thwart his wish-fulfilment, the Indo-Pak talks at the level of Director-General Military Operations (DGMO) have concluded on a decision to defuse the border tension and maintain frequent contact at the level of area commanders to prevent situations from getting out of hand. General (Retd) Beg's magisterial pronouncements have continued from the period of his pre-retirement days when the foreign office had the ill-luck of disagreeing with his doomsday opinion. The general spread the word effectively around in his farewell speeches, the press fully backing him with opinion and cartoons. The first thing the new COAS General Asif Nawaz had to do was to dismiss the auguries of war and relieve the tension created by General Beg within the country by his statements. Now that the quondam COAS has decided to join FRIENDS [Foundation for Research on National Defence and Security], one can foresee the creation of a permanent oracle in Islamabad from where his theories about world politics and war with India can be aired.

The general has the great psychological advantage of not being upset when his predictions and theories are belied by circumstances. He was wrong on the Gulf war, he was wrong on his so-called Beg doctrine linking Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and China in a military alliance; but he knew he would still be lionised by Pakistan's Left and the fundamentalists if he continued the rhetoric. In violation of the Constitution, he kept trespassing on the jurisdiction of the civilian government, while neither the PPP [Pakistan's People Party] nor the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government cared to formally endorse his world view. His love for democracy, much admired in 1988, wore off as he began to demand the suspension of High Court jurisdiction in Sindh as a pre-condition to coming to the help of the civilian government. His assertion that he did not favour the ouster of the PPP government in August 1990 is pointless, given the impasse he created in Islamabad with his disagreement with that government. The fact that the opposition to the IJI government began to fawn on him in expectations of a military coup in the run-up to his retirement day is enough to prove that he had not behaved discreetly as COAS. One hopes that, with his retirement, a very unpleasant period of military-civilian relations in Pakistan is at an end. A COAS simply should not make any public statements without clearance from the civilian authorities and should at all times respect his constitutional obligations towards an elected government. Now that General Beg is no longer in office, his opinion on war with India should be equated with any other civilian opinion in this regard. After two years, he can set himself up as a politician, although the record for generals-turned-politicians in Pakistan is not so bright.

Offers 'Creative Thinking'

92AS0131C Lahore THE NATION in English
28 Sep 91 p 6

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] General Aslam Beg's new venture—a non-governmental think-tank on national defence and security—which the former COAS [Chief of Army Staff] has formally launched with his well-known knack for publicity, is quite in line with his orientation. While in uniform he had fancied himself as a 'man of ideas', an intellectual of sorts who could not resist the temptation of expressing opinions, at times at the conceptual level, about matters that were beyond the scope of professional soldiery. And quite often he had landed in trouble projecting ideas which were at variance with the official line. The General, however, does not seem to have any regrets for what he had said or done when he was at the helm of the military establishment. On the contrary, he wishes to bring out his role as a moderator, who had continually advocated an end to political confrontation between the politicians and the establishment, and earnestly desired unhindered growth of the democratic system. Denying the allegation that he was the main player in the dismissal of Benazir government, he has held President Ghulam Ishaq Khan 'entirely responsible'

for August 6, 1990 action. 'He was also the supreme commander of the Armed Forces and I had no choice but to go along with him', he has said.

Regardless of what General Beg had to say defending his controversial tenure as COAS and his explicit charge that he was not only 'misunderstood' but also 'mis-trusted' by the two Prime Ministers, there is no denying the fact that the ex-General, if he had political ambition, could have followed the Zia-model and seized power for himself. Thus, he deserves credit for having lived up to his promise of adhering to his constitutionally-designed role and making a singular contribution to the strengthening of the democratic system. While General Beg has acquitted himself with honour and dignity of his duties as a professional soldier, belying lingering apprehensions of a 'martial law on the anvil', and is now free to satisfy his urge for creative thinking, it is time to respond more positively to what he may have to offer by way of advice. He has made it known that 'practical politics' was not his cup of tea and he had declined offers of prestigious jobs by the President and the Prime Minister. His brainchild, the first-ever non-governmental institution for the study of problems which are crucial to national interest, should be welcomed by all and sundry and afforded the opportunity to develop into a meaningful endeavour. But, above all, politicians of all hues, whether in the government or in the opposition, must heed the ex-General's advice that we must allow the democratic system to function; it has a built-in mechanism to correct itself. Ironically, of all the people, the former COAS has the foresight to firmly dismiss suggestions of power-sharing by the Armed Forces.

Forecasts War With India

92AS0131A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
28 Sep 91 pp 1, 4

[Text] Former Chief of the Army Staff [COAS], General (Retd) Mirza Aslam Beg, has said that Pakistan will be in no position to continue military aid to the Afghan Mujahideen after the United States and its allies' decision to suspend arms aid to Mujahideen from January 1, 1992, reports BBC.

Talking to BBC correspondent Liz Jeust, the former COAS said that the United States and other Western countries should also initiate steps to resolve the issue. He said that issue could cause another Indo-Pak war in near future.

The former COAS said that the Afghan Mujahideen had been getting aid from the United States, Saudi Arabia and other countries for the last 12 years. He said that Pakistan was not in favour of the military solution of the Afghan problem and Pakistan was continuously telling the Mujahideen about the advantages of political solution of the problem. He further said that Pakistan should continue humanitarian aid to the Mujahideen.

The Retired General said that Pakistan now needed help of other countries to resolve the Afghan and Kashmir issues.

Talking about the Kashmir issue he said that both the countries are moving towards another war. He criticised the United States for not supporting Pakistan's stance on the issue.

General Beg said that Pakistan should establish close links with China, Iran and Afghanistan. He said that he was not anti-United States but a nationalist.

The former COAS said that he had established FRIENDS [Foundation for Research on National Defence and Security] to start research in the field of country's defence matters and other international issues. He said that he turned down President Ishaq and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif offers for jobs because he wanted to do some research work. He said that there was a dire need of FRIENDS-like institute in the country. He said that FRIENDS will chalk out policy guidelines for the country.

General Beg said that after his retirement he was asked by the President and the Prime Minister to join the government but he turned down these offers because he wanted to work in a free atmosphere. He said that another reason for turning down the offer was the government's suspicions about me.

He said till last they were thinking that I would impose Martial Law.

He said in such circumstances how he could join the government.

May Seek Highest Office

92AS0131E Karachi *DAWN* in English 1 Oct 91 p 12

[Article by Shaheen Sehba: "Gen Beg and His FRIENDS"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad, Sept. 30—Former chief of Army Staff, General Mirza Islam Beg's massive splash in the murky waters of national politics is being interpreted in some of the Capital's political circles as the beginning of his bid for the highest office in the land.

General Beg, like any seasoned politician, softly padded the direct question whether he was a presidential candidate. "You have already sent me as the country's envoy to Brunei. Let me come back from that assignment and then I will think about the new job," he said at his inaugural news conference on Thursday—an occasion when he launched his political career by declaring that he would never take part in politics.

"What else is politics in Pakistan. You make political statements, you address the various sections of the society. You give your programme and you want people to follow you," observed an analyst. "This is exactly what General Beg has begun to do. He is talking about

politics, he is going to address gatherings, beginning with the Lahore Bar Association. He wants to remain in the news, hit the headlines as often as he can. He has already been interviewed by BBC. What else is politics?"

But the former strong man of the army is going about it in a roundabout way. His new organisation 'FRIENDS' [Foundation for Research on National Defence and Security] is just another name for 'his' political party and the people he has around him are those who have a political past but one which did not lead them anywhere.

For instance it has Shafqat Ali Shah Jamote, Khalid Waheed, Mushahid Hussain, Mehr Khuda Baksh Marri and other civilians who have been hobnobbing in politics but only on the sidelines. Retired armed forces men like Air Marshal Ayaz Ahmed Khan, Brig A.R. Siddiqi, Commodore Fasahat H. Syed are known figures who clamour for prominence, after remaining in the limelights for years under military rule.

Grouping together all these elements under FRIENDS, General Beg has created another "Justice Party" once launched by Air Marshal Asghar Khan, with the difference that he is not saying so. In the days and weeks to come, FRIENDS may slowly become the platform for all these assorted old men in khaki, as well as the intellectuals looking for a forum to air their views, but not willing to join mainstream political parties.

His direct jump into the political morass with the declaration that he had nothing to do with the dismissal of the Benazir government in 1990 is a shrewd attempt to distance himself from his own past—a past which is soiled by the role the armed forces played under his stewardship against the then elected government.

Asked an observer: "What was the main bone of contention between the PPP government and the establishment which led to dismissal of Benazir other than her refusal to give the Army powers under Article 245 of the Constitution to take over Sindh." But while this was trumpeted as the main obstacle in taking action in Sindh by the Army, it was General Beg who made the comment after Benazir's dismissal that demanding powers under Article 245 was "the deception plan of the Army."

Why was General Beg making such deception plans against political governments and then gloating that the plan had succeeded, the analyst further asked.

Observers also find his excuse that he had no other option but to accede to the President's wish that the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government be dismissed untenable "the only option I had was to impose martial law," he told the newsmen. But when a journalist pointed out that he had another option as well, to resign, General Beg said: "I preferred to go with the President's decision."

How does his decision to go along with the President absolve him of the responsibility of not sharing the

blame for dismissing the PPP government, is the question being asked in political circles.

And why does he find the need now, after he has quietly passed into history, to distance himself from the dissolution of the assemblies in 1990?

The answer to this question is somewhat easy. Analysts believe if General Beg has to carve a political career for him, he has to appear neutral in the present intense war of wits and words between the embittered opposition and the dominant ruling party.

"He cannot join either of these two warring groups—he cannot join PPP because he was a party in its dismissal and he cannot join the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] because he knows their real worth. So he has to keep away and the best slot to go for is that of the head of state, becoming available in two years time when the ban on his contesting an election would also be over.

The real question is how to keep himself in the news between now and then and his ingenuity has come up with the idea to seek the help of FRIENDS.

General Beg has also warned both these warring sides to go for an early truce. His warning is clear—if you don't agree for a ceasefire, a 1977-like situation may be repeated. In simpler words he is warning that a martial law may be round the corner.

Whatever the worth of his political forecast, his words carry a lot of weight because he is indirectly saying that the army may be in a frame of mind to intervene if this feuding does not stop.

"Who can be a better person to speak about the intentions of the army, other than the sitting Chief of Army Staff, General Asif Nawaz," queried an analyst. "But if even General Beg thinks martial law cannot be far away, he must be given serious attention." (The ISPR [Interservice Public Relations] has on Saturday denied any possibility of a martial law.)

Why did he himself not go for that option although until the last day of his tenure, an air of expectancy was there?

To this, General Beg has replied in these words: "I do not know why they were so afraid of me. Ask 'them.' But he has also disclosed that both the President and the Prime Minister did not trust him and that is why he had refused the offer to take up a high position, which he did not name, but which was the Adviser to the Prime Minister for Defence, according to common knowledge.

Probably by refusing to accept the post, he tried to tell the Prime Minister he had other spots in mind—and who else can help him get there other than his FRIENDS.

Beg Establishes Apolitical Institution

92AS0140F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
27 Sep 91 p 14

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "Political System Must Function: Gen. Beg"]

[Text] Rawalpindi, Sept. 26: Gen. (Retd) Aslam Beg, former Chief of the Army Staff, said here this evening that whatever the political system, it must be allowed to function freely and fairly.

Talking to newsmen at the introductory function of the Foundation for Research on National Defence and Security, he said, democracy has in-built mechanism to rectify itself. Democracy, he said, evolves itself by constant learning and dealing with the problems.

He urged both the government and the opposition to put an end to the on-going confrontation. It has been three years since confrontation between the two sides has been going on—first during the Benazir Bhutto rule and now during the Nawaz Sharif government. He remarked: "Do we lack the capability to sit together and resolve issues politically?" He said our energies have been frittered away in this wasteful exercise.

Gen. Beg said the difference between democracy and martial law is that martial law lacked flexibility whereas democracy has the capability of fostering understanding.

When a newsman referred to him as a guardian of democracy, he replied that no single person is the guardian of democracy. "I do not consider myself as such," he said and added that it devolved on the entire nation to defend and guard democracy. He said that there were many causes for the imposition of martial law. We have to have patience. The system must be allowed to function and correct itself."

Gen. Beg revealed he was offered to join the government both by the President and the Prime Minister but he politely refused the offer.

He said he had told them that for the time being this was not possible saying that "I do not work with people who do not trust me." He noted that till his last day in office there were doubts about him. Anyone else in his place, he said would have acted differently. He said there is no democracy if the government takes action against any organisation. He said ideas and thoughts only flourish in free and fair environment. He did not see any conflict arising between the research done by his organisation and policies of the government because the objective of his organisation would be purely intellectual approach to the issues and problems confronted by the country. He refuted the contention that this amounts to his taking active part in politics. "Politics is not my cup of tea. I know what I am capable of." Asked if he would consider joining politics after two years, he said that it depended on the then prevailing conditions.

When a newsman asked him if he was the main character in the removal of the Benazir Government, he replied that he had to agree with the President. He said: "I was COAS [Chief of Army Staff] and the President being the Supreme Commander was my immediate boss. If I had not agreed with him, I had two options: either to resign or assume power. When a newsman pressed who was the main player in the episode, he said: "better ask the President. He will answer it."

He dismissed the possibility of his contesting the next presidential elections saying in vein of humour that the people have even sent him to Brunei. He said that when he told Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif about his plan to set up 'FRIENDS' he asked him if he would invite him, to which he replied that he would, but at an appropriate time. When newsmen asked him if he would invite Benazir Bhutto also, he replied that he would probably invite both. He maintained that his organisation would be strictly non-political. He said the research on security and defence is not only the duty of the army but of all the people. The army, he said, determines only the parameters of the military strategy only.

Foundation for Research on National Defence and Security (FRIENDS) has been established to develop and promote an enlightened public opinion on matters affecting the security and the well-being of Pakistan through free-intellectual discourse without compulsions or influences of any pressure group.

FRIENDS is a non-political, non-profitable and non-governmental institution which provides an infrastructure for carrying out research on national and international issues pertaining to matters concerning Pakistan's security.

Mechanism of Muslim Cooperation Sought

92AS0002B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Sep 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Ummah's Predicament"]

[Text] Sharp, indeed, is the contrast between the resonant rhetoric on the urgency for cooperation among Muslim countries and the bleak reality. The Islamic Conference and the Islamic Bank have not been able to make more than small contributions to such cooperation. And the OPEC's aid to the Muslim countries has been modest. And the volume of trade between Muslim countries has also been small despite setting up the Islamic Chamber of Commerce. Lack of adequate communication between Muslim countries, including shipping and a preference to import what they need from the West, have restricted trade among Muslim countries.

President Ghulam Ishaq has urged the Muslim world to evolve its own system to resolve differences between Muslim states as well as promote larger cooperation. But such mechanisms have not been effective because of the divisions in the ranks of Muslim states or animosity towards each other, and the split within the Arab League

as well, which has made it an ineffective body. And the Gulf War demonstrated how, following the dispute between Arab states, foreign intervention was invited and the Western forces are still in the Gulf, though in a reduced size.

If the Muslims had evolved a mechanism to settle differences among themselves the Iraq-Iran War and the civil war in Afghanistan would have lasted for a short time, and the Gulf crisis might not have arisen. But it is easier to ask for a mechanism than really build and sustain it. However, determined efforts have to be made in that direction in this vastly changing world.

A good beginning could be made by increasing economic cooperation between Muslim neighbours. In this regard the memorandum of understanding negotiated in Tehran following the visit of President Ghulam Ishaq is a major step. If the telecommunication, railway and road facilities between the two neighbours could be expanded quickly, if Iran could not only set up an oil refinery in Pakistan soonest but also supply natural gas to Pakistan, and if the volume of trade between them could be raised to 500 million dollars, which was the figure seven years ago, from 70 to 100 million dollars, and this year's 280 million dollars, they will be admirable developments. If power can be had from Iran for the long delayed Saindak project, that will be welcome. What is important is what is agreed to should be implemented and not abandoned for one reason or another, as happened in the past. Action and achievements must be the hallmark of such cooperation, and not new rhetoric to add to the old.

Nuclear Program Said 'Only for Atomic Bomb'

92WP0049Z Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 21 Sep 91 p 10

[Article by Dr. Anis Alam: "Pakistan's Atomic Bomb"]

[Text] All Pakistani governments from late General Zia's to Ms Bhutto's and now IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] Nawaz Sharif's have maintained the official stance that Pakistan's nuclear energy programme is for peaceful purposes. It is basically a programme to acquire expertise to have a self-reliant nuclear energy programme to meet the ever-increasing demand for electricity.

On the other hand there have been innumerable articles in the foreign press about Pakistan's clandestine programme to acquire capability for making an atomic bomb. Matters have been further complicated due to almost continuous boasts by A.Q. Khan, the head of the research laboratory at Kahuta, that almost conveys the impression that Pakistan has already been able to make an atomic bomb.

His now famous interview with the Indian journalist Kuldip Nayyar in early 1987 clearly stated that Pakistan already has an atomic bomb. Subsequently, many more articles have appeared in Pakistani press about the

Pakistani atomic bomb. In 1989 a book was also published which eulogised Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan's achievements in this regard.

There is a very influential and vocal pro-atomic bomb lobby in Pakistan. Moreover, when one listens to talk among fairly well-informed people, an impression is formed that Pakistan's atomic energy programme is nothing but an atomic weapons programme. Most of the political parties have turned the atomic energy programme into a sacred cow. PPP [Pakistan People's Party] claims the credit for starting the atomic bomb project. Zia's followers and IJI government claim to make the atomic bomb a reality. What is the reality? Lacking any positive affirmative statement but only the hostile reaction of the US government and her allies it seems that Pakistan does possess the capability to make an atomic bomb.

It is essential to understand that Pakistan atomic energy programme is basically a programme to acquire capability to make atomic bombs. This programme should therefore be considered as part of the procurement programme of Pakistan's armed forces to acquire effective and lethal weaponry. Atomic bomb for Pakistan's defence establishment is an extremely effective weapon like any other weapon, just more lethal, more effective and far more destructive. If this were not so, attempts should have been made to develop the science and technology required to develop nuclear capability. The sorry state of Pakistani science, especially related sciences of nuclear physics, solid state physics, micro-electronics, metallurgical sciences and various engineering disciplines, has been repeatedly pointed out even in official Pakistani publications. Since the mid-seventies, there has been no significant programme to train manpower in above-mentioned disciplines. In fact the development has been in reverse direction. The standard of science education and research has deteriorated to a level so as to alarm all of Pakistan's well-wishers. Without the trained manpower, scientists, engineers, technicians in adequate number backed by requisite infrastructure Pakistan's quest to develop nuclear capability will just be an idle dream. Pakistan may make one or several crude atomic bombs but she will not have a viable nuclear power programme.

Atomic bomb is being taken by the establishment as an effective deterrent. It is claimed that it is because of Pakistan's atomic bomb that India does not dare to attack Pakistan. Further, it is pointed out by the proponents of Pakistan's atomic bomb that since India already exploded an atomic device as early as 1974, Pakistan must also demonstrate its capability to have one so as to deter India from launching an attack on Pakistan. Reference is made to NATO deployment of nuclear weapons in Western Europe. The argument is as follows: Since Warsaw Pact forces had overwhelming superiority in conventional weapons and numerical superiority in armed soldiers, the only way to combat this superiority is through the deployment of atomic weapons.

The argument by proponents of atomic bomb in Pakistan goes along similar lines: Since Pakistan cannot hope to overcome Indian numerical superiority it must be combated with Pakistan's atomic bomb. In the following, we will examine the fallacy of this thinking and its disastrous consequences for Pakistani economy.

Pakistan's nuclear programme, despite consuming the lion's share of all allocation for scientific research for the last decade and a half, is yet to add one single kilowatt of electricity to national grid since early seventies. No country is willing to sell us a nuclear power plant for the generation of electricity, although the manufacturers of nuclear power plants in the United States and Europe are desperate to export their plants because of almost no demand in their own countries. It would therefore be wise to reconsider the current nuclear programme.

Let us take the next crucial point; that Pakistan's atomic bomb is a deterrent. What constitutes a deterrent? If the experience of the superpowers is any guide, no specific number of atomic weapons is considered an effective enough deterrent. The United States developed the first atomic bomb, USSR followed suit a few years later. Then United States developed a far more destructive hydrogen bomb; USSR followed very quickly with its own.

A nuclear arms race ensued till the late eighties when the two possessed between themselves an arsenal of fifty thousand (50,000) atomic bombs.

These bombs possess an explosive force equivalent to twelve lakh (1,200,000) bombs of the type which destroyed Hiroshima.

The nuclear arsenal of the two superpowers represented 18 billion tonnes of TNT for every man, woman and child on earth. Almost three and a half tonnes of TNT for every inhabitant of earth. The above figures are enough to demonstrate the absurdity of the doctrine of deterrence through an atomic bomb.

In addition, the nuclear arms race between a richer (United States) and comparatively poorer (USSR) led to the ruin of economy and society. Forced to spend a disproportionate percentage of national wealth on defence, the government neglected the productive sector leading to the economic chaos of the last five years. Despite all its nuclear arsenal, USSR has now to beg her adversaries for help to feed its citizens in the coming winter.

I hope Pakistani planners evolve different policies so that we do not have to face similar indignity in future. Already Pakistan is spending almost seven percent of its total national wealth on defence. The norm for most developing countries is half of that.

Now that the superpowers themselves have given up on atomic weapons through all sorts of treaties to limit nuclear and other weapons Pakistan should not embark upon such a course.

Another point to be kept in mind by all is that atomic weapons are not like other conventional weapons. They are different. They not only kill; they are destroyers of all life and destruction is not limited to the present but affects the coming generations as well. Do we have the moral right to decide for our coming generations? All thinking persons should halt to ponder.

New Paramilitary Force in Sindh

92AS0011D Karachi AMN in Urdu 16 Sep 91 p 4

[New Report: "Paramilitary Force To be Established in Sindh"]

[Text] Islamabad, 15 September (AMAN News)—The Sindh government has established a new paramilitary force called the Sindh Rangers to help establish peace in the state. This step was taken to tackle the extremely difficult situation caused by crimes. Previously another force named Mehran Rangers was established to help the police and administration in urban and rural areas. Now another new force is being created to aid the police and administration. All paramilitary organizations are directly administrated by the federal government, while the Sindh Rangers are under the control of the Sindh government. In addition to the Sindh Rangers, the state government plans to establish another force to vanquish the robbers hiding in the deep jungles along the river Sindh. This force will have about 3,000 young men in the beginning. They will be provided with modern weapons, as well as mortar guns and rocket guns that are fired from the shoulder. The Sindh government had recommended to the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs that the latter establish such a force to deal with the robbers. It is said that police officers have close relations with the robbers in Sindh, and that these police officers are dishonest. Therefore, all information about police action is given to these robbers and they are never caught. The new force was established for this reason, so that the robber problem could be eradicated. According to the Sindh government's report, there are 1,800 constables, 230 head constables, 34 assistant subinspectors, and innumerable inspectors that are corrupt and dishonest. They are associated directly with the robbers. It was also learned that the government wants to implement some other police codes in the police force in order to control lawlessness in areas where the robbers are very active. These ideas and recommendations were presented to the prime minister in a meeting. The prime minister had called a high-level meeting to reorganize the police in the four states. A working group was formed in this meeting, which had requested recommendations from the four state governments. Finally the Sindh government recommended these ideas, and the federal government has approved them. All that is needed now is Cabinet approval.

Fundamental National Issues Examined

92AS0161E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
18 Oct 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Away From the Tower of Babel"]

[Text] We initiate today the examination of some fundamental national issues starting with a survey of the political process and the course it has followed since independence. In 1947 the people were considered mature and responsible enough to decide whether they wanted an independent national state of their own. A year later when Pakistan had come into existence, they came to be seen as a mass of illiterate and ignorant individuals who could not be relied upon even to elect their own representatives much less decide their own destiny.

Why did the Constituent Assembly fail to resolve even a simple constitutional issue for seven years? And when it was summarily dissolved in 1954 by a bureaucrat—elevated himself to the position of the Governor General through political chicanery and intrigue—one of his ministers Iskander Mirza, the future executive of the 1956 Constitution, told a press conference: "The masses are illiterate. They are bound to act foolishly sometimes." For twenty-three years after independence, the people were not allowed to exercise even their elementary right of direct franchise.

What went wrong? Were we congenitally incapable of running a civilised democratic state? Were we pushed into the slough of political stagnation by a vicious coterie of politicians, landlords, bureaucrats, army officers and business magnates? Within the coterie each group held the others responsible for all the misfortunes of the country. So much dust has been raised that one can no longer see anything clearly.

Among our social scientists the belief is growing that the parliamentary system of government cannot work in our conditions. We are not ready for it. The presidential system, too, has been tried for more than two decades, in two agonising spells, and the result has been economic ruin and anarchy. The Islamic system, the ideal which has eluded the grasp of Muslims for the last five hundred years, appears to be beyond our reach. Once we discover a system suited to our conditions, all our problems will be resolved. A whole nation waiting for the magic wand.

Much sorrow and anguish is expressed by our intellectuals when they notice the absence of social and political institutions. But they console themselves, and the audience, with the thought that these things take time. After all, the British took 200 years to develop their parliamentary system. If it took millions of years to discover the wheel, we can take at least a thousand years to learn to spin it!

Time to ask some questions. Hard and worrying questions. Is it possible to have any acceptable political system or institution in the absence of a shared scheme

of values? We know that it will be immediately claimed that we do have common moral and social values. We do share the same faith; whatever the differences. But if faith alone could hold a nation together, we would not have witnessed the barbaric separation of East and West Pakistan. We have been using the slogan of faith to brush all our differences under the carpet of nationalism and patriotism—for too long and to no purpose.

Is Pakistan a democratic nation state as the Quaid-i-Azam intended it to be? Or is it an Islamic state part of the Muslim Ummah? Is the Ummah an ideal or a concrete and achievable political concept?

Do we believe in the equality of citizens regardless of differences of faith, colour and gender? For more than forty-three years now we have been pretending that we have answered this question. The truth is that we do not agree that all citizens of Pakistan are equal in all respects and have equal rights and obligations. We do not even allow members of religious minorities to appear on a common electoral rolls.

The least we should do is to begin defining the words on which we rely for our social and political salvation. What do we mean by 'Din'? What is 'Shariah'? What do we understand by an Islamic state? Let us admit that we do not agree among ourselves on the meaning of any of these words.

We have to examine, indeed, question, some of our most cherished assumptions. Is the interpretation of the divine word the preserve of any particular group of scholars? Is there no scope for reinterpretation? Must we discover the meaning of Islam in ancient manuscripts, or should we embark on the task of reconstruction of Islamic thought according to our own light and the demands of our time?

The essential thing is that we address the questions that have remained unasked and unanswered, and acknowledge the problems that confront us. We hope to raise these questions in this series of national issues, for which several scholars have been invited to contribute. We hope the readers too will join us in our search for answers. Hopefully, we may be able to make some contribution towards the evolution of a national consensus without which no social or political system can either emerge or survive.

Press Gallery Commentary on National Assembly Disorder

92AS0161A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
18 Oct 91 pp 1, 9

[Commentary by Mohammad Yasin: "All Sound and Fury Signifying Nothing"]

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 17—What happened inside the House today did not add to the prestige of the National Assembly. Honourable members from both sides especially some stalwarts from the treasury benches showed

more aggressiveness in raking up the past: accusations and counter-accusations were freely exchanged smothering the real issues.

It was action replay of scenes from the Pickwick Papers and onlookers were amazed at the infantile attitude of the legislators in dealing with the greatest financial scandal that has hit the country like a typhoon, leaving 2.5 million helpless depositors high and dry.

For the second day of the debate on the cooperatives scandals, one was left with the impression that nobody was really serious about the real issue that could jolt the economy of the country in the next few months.

It was all sound and fury signifying nothing. Even the ministers like Lt Gen Majid Malik and Abdul Sattar Lalika who are better known for keeping their poise and cool, were easily provoked by remarks passed by opposition members in a lighter vein. More surprising was the conduct of the new Information Minister Abdul Sattar Lalika when Ch. Aitzaz Ahsan said something about the strange noise uttered by him. In an impish vein, Aitzaz Ahsan used some uncharitable words to describe Lalika. In his explanatory remarks, Lalika claimed that the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] had indulged in subversion and cited a BBC broadcast of 1981 by Murtaza Bhutto in which he admitted having got Ch. Zahur Elahi murdered.

Earlier taking offence to the remarks employed by Ch. Aitzaz Ahsan, the one-time Information Adviser Sheikh Rashid Ahmed, now the Minister of Culture, launched an offensive against the PPP and its leaders. He taunted Ms Benazir Bhutto, who was not present in the house today, that despite being the Prime Minister of the country for 20 months, she could not get her brother Murtaza Bhutto to return to the country because his hands were smeared with blood. He accused the PPP of being the creator of "subversion" and challenged the former Prime Minister to tell the nation about the link Al-Zulfikar had with the PPP. He condemned PPP wallahs as the enemies of the country. Begum Nusrat Bhutto who was seen visibly upset by the accusatory and provocative tone of the Sheikh flung the expletive "Guonda" at the young minister.

Speaker Gohar Ayub fresh from his "moral victory" in Santiago and looking fairly mellow and conciliatory tried to silence Sheikh Rashid Ahmed. He advised the members not to rake up the past.

Today's session witnessed the resumption of happy relations between the opposition and the Speaker. Aitzaz reminded the Speaker that he did not keep his promise of taking him to Chile during the election campaign. "I would have lobbied for you," he said.

Minister for Agriculture Majid Malik too was in a fierce mood. He blamed the opposition for telling lies. Ch. Altaf Hussain of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] objected to the words "lies" and the Speaker said that the word stood withdrawn.

An Indian lady who has been visiting Pakistan often at the invitation of the top leaders of the government, was also the subject of some amusing exchanges. Aitzaz also spoke about the mysterious visits of "that woman" and of the courtesies extended to her including the provision of a helicopter to facilitate her travels.

All in all, it was a day of charges and counter-charges. At one stage when Ch. Shujaat said that differences had surfaced between Nusrat Bhutto and her daughter on the latter's speech, Begum Bhutto shouted "liar."

When Begum Bhutto was talking of the hanging of her husband, she referred to the split judgement of the court and wanted to discuss the role of some judges when the Speaker advised her not to discuss the conduct of the judges. When she switched to the subject before being interrupted she instantly remarked: "I have forgotten what I was saying." There was laughter from the treasury benches. Begum Bhutto shot back: "Mr Laughing Man; Zia had killed my husband, he killed my son. I have suffered. I do not want my only son to come to Pakistan and be killed. He loves this land and is keen to come back to the land of his ancestors. It was I and not my daughter who stopped him from coming to Pakistan." While saying this, her voice got choked with emotions. She spoke more as a wife and a mother than the head of a political party. She left the house drying her tears. It was a pathetic sight.

The former Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and his pal Ghulam Mustafa Khar were present in the house. After the house was adjourned to meet again on Sunday in the afternoon, Jatoi made it to the cafeteria and sat there flanked by Aitzaz, Gilani and Achakzai and Ch. Altaf Hussain. What are things shaping up to, he wanted to know from the newsmen. One of them asked him, "How would you have handled the coup situation if it had taken place during your government?" Replied Jatoi very confidently, "It would not have happened in the first place."

He was confronted with the question that as the leader of the opposition, he had delivered one of his best speeches. Would he speak now? He replied in negative saying that he was a member of the ruling alliance and as such he could speak only on the government's side. But he could always pull the chair from the back seat.

Apart from some ministers and a few of the MNAs [members of National Assembly] on the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] side, few treasury members seemed keen to take on the opposition. Most of them wanted the minister and IJI MNAs closely associated with the collapsed cooperatives to carry the buck.

Though the PDA has little contact with the Presidency, they are taking steps to ensure that the documents produced by the PDA reach President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. The Plunder of Pakistan, the latest document has been sent to the President's House by the PDA through friendly sources.

Seminar on 'Challenges, Responsibilities' Held*92AS0140C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
26 Sep 91 p 12*

[Article by Mobarik A. Virk: "'U.S. the Biggest Conspirator'"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad, Sept. 25: The extensively deliberated issue of what ails the country and what should be done to stem the rapidly deteriorating situation and improve the vital national interests outside and within the country, once again came under discussion Wednesday evening at a local hotel here Wednesday. Seasoned politicians, diplomats and journalists took to the stage in the seminar 'Pakistan: Challenges and Responsibilities' organised by a former Federal Minister for Railways, Mian Ataullah.

The speakers include former Foreign Minister Agha Shahi, former Pakistan Ambassador to the United States Lt. Gen. (Retd) Ejaz Azeem, Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmed, Agha Murtaza Pooya, Ahmed Raza Kasuri, Mushahid Hussain, a prominent freelance journalist, and Mian Ataullah himself.

The speakers, who widely discussed various national and international aspects, were of the opinion that Pakistan is and has always been the target of international conspiracies. The conspirators, the biggest being the United States of America, right from the beginning were busy contemplating moves to damage Pakistan which has emerged as a citadel of Islam in the world.

Mushahid Hussain reviewing the course of events which took place from way back in 1947 when Pakistan came into being, presented a disturbing picture in his customary whirlwind style. He boldly criticised the past and present politicians and rulers, whom he described as 'Western oriented ruling class' which always considered the road to Islamabad leads through Washington.

Hizb-e-Jehad and the Information Secretary of the ruling IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance], was also apprehensive of the future of political system in the country. He was critical of the U.S. intervention in Pakistan's affairs and warned against the ugly designs of the United States, Israel and India against the country. He called for self-reliance and self-sufficiency. He said that Iran is a glaring example of how a country got itself freed from the strong clutches of the United States and imperialism and now the country is moving swiftly on the road of prosperity.

Mr. Pooya called for greater cooperation among the Muslim countries and especially between Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. Together, he said, these countries could achieve the goals easily and speedily.

Ahmed Raza Kasuri in his emotional address said that Pakistan came into being on the basis of Islamic ideology alone and no other ideology or ism is involved in the partition of the subcontinent. He said that all ideas of provincialism, lingual or ethnic forces, are the product of

those who want to exploit the petty issues for their personal gains and there is no depth in these slogans or isms.

Agha Shahi, the former Foreign Minister, dwelt at length on the international issues concerning Afghan situation, Gulf war and its after-effects, Kashmir uprising, Pak-U.S. relations, the new world order of the U.S. President George Bush, its implementation and consequences, and various other current issues.

He also discussed the independence declaration by various Central Asian Muslim-dominating Soviet States following the abortive coup in the Soviet Union.

Senator Prof. Khurshid discussed the economic situation, while Lt. Gen. (Retd) Ejaz Azeem, former Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States, discussed Pak-U.S. relations, the stoppage of U.S. aid to Pakistan following Pakistan's refusal to accept Pressler Amendment, the need of self-sufficiency in defence production, and the increasing threats to Pakistan from the United States, India and Israel.

Earlier, Mian Ataullah, host of the seminar, presented the key note address.

Compensation for Democracy Supporters Questioned*92AS0159E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 Oct 91 p 6*

[Text] It was contended before the full bench of the Supreme Court last Sunday that Ms. Benazir Bhutto, as Prime Minister, did not violate any rule or law while allocating the L.P.G. [liquified petroleum gas] quotas to applicants who had suffered in the cause of democracy. The acting Chief Justice Dr. Nasim Hassan Shah held that the allotment of L.P.G. quotas as a reward to someone who "had been inflicted lashes or had otherwise suffered, would not be valid" (MUSLIM 14 October). His colleague Justice Shafiur Rehman disagreed. He observed that "it is recognised the world over that those who suffer or struggle for democracy, must be rewarded."

The judges of the Supreme Court disagreeing with each other on a point of law is no big deal. Nor do we have to agree or disagree with either of them and we have no doubt that Ms. Bhutto's petition will be decided on merits. But Justice Shafiur Rehman's obiter dictum raises an important ethical question. Is there any moral basis for suggesting that an individual who has suffered incarceration and torture in the struggle for democracy or any cause of the people should be financially rewarded or compensated? How much should a human rights activist be paid for every flick of the lash and what is the price of one night's solitary confinement? Imagine Nelson Mandela being rewarded by the first black President with a whole row of petrol pumps along the main road in Johannesburg in recognition of his services to the

cause of democracy. We have to our abiding embarrassment rewarded our heroes of democracy not only with ministerial jobs but large commercial plots and other financial benefits. In so doing we did not reward them for their suffering; We exposed them to public ridicule. The community honours those selfless individuals who suffer in the cause of democracy; it does not debase their contribution by paying them for the pain and torture they have suffered. Where in the world does any civilised community provide financial rewards to those who have devoted their lives to the cause of democracy.

Council of Islamic Ideology Criticized

92AS0159B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
14 Oct 91 p 6

[Article by Prof. Rafi Ullah Shehab; italicized words as published]

[Text] In the recent meeting of the component political parties of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) held at Lahore, some of the religio-political leaders accused the government that it was not honest in enforcing the Islamic system in the country. They claimed that the Council of Islamic Ideology has already submitted very positive recommendations in this respect but the government was reluctant to enforce these. To pacify these leaders, committee was constituted to scrutinize the recommendations of the Council and to submit its report to the government for implementation.

Almost all the leaders of the religious parties which are the components of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad had still recently been the upholders of the Shariat Bill. During the last six years they had been convincing the nation that the passage of the Bill, will Islamize Pakistani society. This Bill was passed some six months back but it did not make any change in our society. Strangely enough, in this meeting, these upholders of the Bill did not even refer to the Shariat Bill. Instead, they insisted on the implementation of the recommendations of the Council of Islamic Ideology.

These recommendations, it may be mentioned here, had no relation whatsoever with the Shariat Bill as these were submitted to the government even before the passage of the Bill. In this way, the upholders of the Shariat Bill have now themselves confirmed the popular allegation that this Bill was nothing but a political fraud. The recommendations of the Ideology Council, as will be shown in the following lines, are more fraudulent than the Shariat Bill.

The Council of Islamic Ideology had been functioning in the country since the very establishment of Pakistan in one form or the other. The main constitutional responsibility of all these Councils had been to guide and help the government in establishing an egalitarian Islamic society in the country, but none of these Councils which are constituted after every three years, had ever submitted any report in this respect. This was told by General Ziaul Haq when the present writer had objected

to his enforcement of Hudood punishment in the present society. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) had enforced the Hudood punishment after establishing the Islamic egalitarian society.

It is claimed by the Council that all its recommendations are confidential, but almost all the religio-political leaders know about these recommendations. That is why they are demanding their implementation. Some of the recommendations, it seems, were purposely leaked out by the Council, but unfortunately, all these were against the teachings of Islam. It seems that these were made to please the religio-political leaders who had been using Islam for their ulterior political motives and never had been honest in their claim of the enforcement of Nizam-i-Islam in the country. In the following lines, an attempt is being made to examine those recommendations of the Council which have been published in the national press.

Some six years back, the then Chairman of the Council gave the impression that the Pakistan Family Laws of 1961 were against the teachings of Islam. The religio-political leaders appreciated his view-point and demanded from the government that in the light of the report of the Council of Islamic Ideology, the Pakistan Family Laws Ordinance should be repealed. The present writer took prompt notice of these developments and established through a number of articles in the national press, that nothing was un-Islamic in these laws. These were first enforced in Egypt in the year 1929 which was appreciated by all of our Ulema who are now opposing them.

Strangely enough, Syed Abul Ala Maudoodi, the founder of Jamaat-i-Islami, was so much delighted by these laws that he presented these in Urdu in the form of his book entitled *Haqooq-uz-Zojain*. The present writer made a comparative study of these three documents and established that while Maudoodi's *Haqooq-uz-Zojain* was the Urdu version of the Egyptian Family Laws, the Pakistan Family Laws were their English version. I also challenged the Chairman of the Council to have a debate with me on this issue on TV, but he did not respond.

After three years, a new Council was constituted. Its Chairman, in a press statement, declared the Family Planning scheme to be against the teachings of Islam. The present writer took prompt notice of his viewpoint and arranged the publication of a number of articles in the national press in which it was established that it was one of those issues on the legality of which great Muslim jurists of all the schools of Islamic jurisprudence totally agreed. In these articles, I accused the Chairman that in his statement on this issue he had tried to appease the half-educated Ulema who had been opposing this scheme for their political considerations. I also challenged him to a debate on TV. The Chairman replied that the recommendations of the Council were treated as confidential and these could not be debated, but he did not clarify how his statement against population planning had been published in the national press.

After the expiry of the term of that Council, the present one has taken its place. This Council, a few days back, issued its verdict that the evidence of Muslim women cannot be accepted in Hudood cases. Women organisations and prominent lawyers of the country condemned this decision of the Council, but it was applauded by the religion-political leaders.

A few days back, a religious function was held at a hotel in Lahore. It was presided over by the Imam of Faisal Mosque, Islamabad. In this function a number of members of the Council of Islamic Ideology were also present. I publicly condemned this verdict of the Council which has degraded Muslim women as being even inferior to dogs. I wished that the Imam of Faisal Mosque would give his opinion in his presidential address, but he remained quiet on this important issue. However, at the end of the function, I personally contracted a member of the Council. He maintained that he was the only member out of the twenty who had opposed this decision of the Council. In the meantime, the other members of the Council vanished and I could not get any clarification from them.

It appears from these details that either the members of the Council are half-educated and lack proper knowledge of the teachings of Islam about various important issues, or they are trying to please the religio-political leaders who have been using Islam for their ulterior political motives. It is feared that most of the recommendations of the Council of Islamic Ideology may not be in accordance with the teachings of Islam. It is therefore suggested that before enforcing them, they should be published and an open debate allowed about their Islamic status. It will save the nation and the government from any awkward situation.

White Paper on Election Rigging Published

92AS0140G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
28 Sep 91 pp 6, 7

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "Can White Paper Heal the Wounds?"]

[Text] PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] is finally out with its much-talked about White Paper on the most controversial elections to be held in the history of Pakistan. The 528-page White Paper, appropriately entitled *How an Election Was Stolen*, took almost 11 months to appear on the book stands. Before its publication, all the reports of the foreign observers teams and Pakistan's own researchers had appeared. There is agreement on one point at least in all those reports that the rigging did take place in the election. However, there is no agreement among various teams and individuals on the number of seats on which the alleged rigging occurred.

PDA Position

The position taken by the PDA is that "rigging took place across the board and was not restricted to the 70 seats identified in the White Paper." It goes on to claim

that "the 70 have been identified through rigorous statistical criteria. This should not be taken to mean that all those not included in the list were fairly elected." Najam Sethi in his analysis has identified 35 constituencies as suspect. Going by the report of National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, which was hailed even by the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance], the rigging was limited to 32 seats. The French Observers team, however, concluded that the results giving a very large majority to the IJI can be explained by a mechanism of highly sophisticated rigging.

Whatever, the difference in reports of various international and local teams on the number of constituencies where the rigging took place, there is admission all round that there was wrong doing in the whole exercise.

There is also consensus on the part of those who prepared different reports on the conduct of the polls on the misuse of the state machinery. Government-controlled media, state funds and public servants to the great disadvantage of the PDA and for the benefit of the IJI.

Scientific approach adopted by the analysts associated with the PDA's White Paper in the sifting of the material, has given it logical coherence and fair credibility. Even the minds given to doubt whatever is presented to them are forced to accept the conclusions of the White Paper. The credibility of the White Paper substantiated as it is by the reports prepared on the elections in Pakistan is capable of doing the greatest damage to the faith of the masses in the electoral process.

It is crystal clear that the establishment in Pakistan had zeroed in on the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] from the day it came into power even though it is not at all a radical outfit. The establishment did not want the PPP/PDA to win the elections. Hence it created all the administrative bottlenecks that it could do for the PPP/PDA and stop it from triumphing in the polls. That explains the scientific ways of destroying the popular faith in the electoral process. This is really a blow to the growth of the democratic institutions in this country. This sordid situation may be all right for those who have no faith in the expression of the will of the people or the exercise of their sovereignty. It certainly does sit ill with the masses of this country to be denied the right of exercising their will in a free, fair and impartial manner. In the event of the erosion of the faith of the people in the ballot box, it is they themselves who are going to be at the losing end.

For the ruling elite who are the beneficiaries and perpetrators of the rigging, there is recompense enough to stick to their old ways since they would be going off with trophies that would put them custodians of the fate of the 115 million people living in this country. Though not for long the ruling class would be able to postpone the final day of the judgment at the bar of public opinion. The denial of the franchise to the people through rigging in any form can lead to serious consequences for the country.

Already the sense of deprivation among the masses is acute, leading to stepped up violence, acrimony and bitterness amongst people of various parts of the country. The saddest part of it all is that the masses are getting disenchanted of the democratic institutions in their present form. They do not expect justice to prevail. They are distancing themselves from the whole process. Referendum of the Zia regime had initiated the process of subverting the will of the people. The exercise has now been refined. The consequences have been disastrous with the voter turnout declining. The tendency on the part of the voters to alienate themselves from the electoral process bespeaks of silence before the storm. It serves as a signal. The lessons of the Iranian revolution must not be lost sight of and more recently of what is happening in the Soviet Union and East European countries. The gathering storm may sweep away the citadels of power.

Consensus

There is consensus in all the reports of the administrative irregularities. In all of them, the performance of the Election Commission has come in for sharp criticism. PDA has focused on the role of the President and the caretaker government in the elections and highlighted the manner in which their actions worked against the opposition and to the advantage of the parties to which the caretaker prime minister and the chief ministers belonged.

The erosion of faith in the office of the President is another aspect which is fraught with serious consequences for the system. It is assumed that whoever is the President, symbolises the Federation of Pakistan. In that sense, the President should be neutral and capable of enjoying the respect of all political parties even while remaining the member of one particular party. Unfortunately, this was not so in the case of the President in the pre-poll and post-poll situation. This situation has been brought about by the notorious Eighth Amendment which has done the greatest damage not only to the office of the President but also to parliamentary democracy itself. What a mockery of democracy it is that an indirectly elected President can send packing his own electoral college at will! This cannot hold for long. In the interest of the survival of parliamentary democracy, this anomalous situation has to be set right by strengthening the office of the Prime Minister and making the office of the President really a symbol of the Federation.

The White Paper produced by the PDA must not in any case be viewed negatively. In fact in the light of this document as well as the other reports on the Polls 90 prepared by international observers and researchers, there is dire need for removing the lacunae from the laws and procedures dealing with the election. The reform of the electoral system is badly needed to restore the eroded faith of the masses in the system. Most of the problems that confront us at this phase of our politics, are the direct outcome of the loud cries of subversion of the will of the people in the last elections.

Nations have turned their griefs into sources of their strength. Though the PDA White Paper is cruel and bitter in its analysis, it can prove to be a source of rectifying the ills it has pointed out. Even going by the official counts, the PDA represents almost 37 percent of the voters—less than by about one per cent of the IJI. The Prime Minister should make the White Paper the basis for talks with the Opposition to sort out issues.

Open Nuclear Declaration Favored

U.S. Favors India

91AS1500A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 18 Aug 91 pp 1, 7

[News Report: "Only Option for Pakistan: Declare Nuclear Capability Openly"]

[Text] Lahore (Magazine Report)—The U.S. policy about Pakistan's nuclear program is malicious. It is practicing double standards. It has imposed restrictions on Pakistan and is giving special treatment to India and Israel at the same time. The news media from all over the world is denouncing it for its double standards. The United States is trying to hinder nuclear capability of Islamic countries under an organized plan while the U.S. laws are being ignored when it comes to India. This indicates U.S. designs against the Muslim world. These opinions were expressed by some of our politicians, intellectuals, and political analysts in a magazine forum hosted by Mohammed Sharif Kayani and Khawaja Saqib Ghafur.

Commenting on the subject of Pakistan's nuclear program and the U.S. policy, Senator Hafiz Hussain Ahmed said that, "the U.S. policies are double and unfair and showed prejudice against the Muslim world. The United States should tell us why it allows Israel to make and store atomic bombs, and why do the seven major nations have atomic bombs? Why have the United States and the Soviet Union stockpiled nuclear weapons? The U.S. policy is aimed at making sure that Muslim countries do not attain nuclear capability. Why doesn't the United States force India to stop its nuclear program? When U.S. ambassador, Robert Oakley, talks about the results of Pakistan crossing a red light, he should know that his country had crossed that red light many years ago and is telling us not to do that. The United States wants [illegible] become weak and no one could be equal to it. The United States put restrictions on Pakistan's request several times even for bullets after India blasted an atomic bomb in 1974. According to the CIA director's report, India has made over 12 atomic bombs and is capable of making many more. Pakistan and other Islamic countries should form coalitions to form a policy to counter the new U.S. world order. All our political parties should ignore their mutual differences and agree on a policy about the nuclear problem." Hafiz Hussain Ahmed continued, "Robert Oakley's statement is interference in our independence, autonomy, and internal affairs. This is an insult to self-respecting Pakistanis.

Attaining nuclear capability is necessary for Pakistan's industrial, economic, and agricultural development. This is an issue of our existence and progress and the U.S. officials should understand our problems. The former U.S. ambassador's statement is an unofficial declaration of war against Pakistan." He further said that if our government was forced to take action against our national interest and pride, then the United States would not be satisfied even after inspecting our nuclear installations, and that the United States could not force us to do anything.

Dr. Rafiq Ahmed, former vice chancellor of Punjab University, said that "When the former ambassador Oakley talked about our crossing the red light, I wanted to refer to traffic laws all over the world, and say that it was the duty of everyone to respect and obey the red light, and all those who ignore it should be punished. However, we have not seen anyone invent a red light that has double standards. It is red for one car and green for another car! A red light is red for everyone including the United States, India, Israel, and the Soviet Union. Pakistan's nuclear program is for nuclear energy and not for making atomic bombs. The United States thinks that Pakistan is making atomic bombs. We have the right to ask the United States why it has made atomic bombs itself. Is it not true that many countries have made innumerable bombs after 1945? None of these bombs have been used because when more than two countries have such bombs, it helps maintain peace. It is called balance of power. The United States should have a rule asking that either no country should be allowed to make atomic bombs or all should be allowed to do so. Does not an independent nation need the atomic bomb to make sure its independence is protected? Pakistan needs nuclear capability to eradicate poverty, improve agricultural production, reduce unemployment, and carry out an industrial revolution. The United States should understand that we cannot do that without nuclear capability. Robert Oakley said that the United States stopped India from attacking Pakistan last year. This shows that Pakistan's enemies never miss an opportunity. Oakley did not see India pass that red light in 1974."

Ita ul Rehman said, "It is important for Pakistan to attain nuclear capability for industrial development, independence, security, and making atomic bombs because the United States will move toward this subcontinent after forcing the Arab nations to recognize Israel. It will try to stop Pakistan's nuclear program, and will try to solve the Kashmir issue according to its new world order. It will tell Pakistan that it does not have to enter the nuclear arena because it will resolve our differences with India. India attacked us three times in the past and always has been an aggressor. Pakistan has no Saddam Husayn. The United States should know it from our history. We have only one option, and that is to openly declare our intention to become a nuclear power. No one was able to stop any country from becoming a nuclear power in the past and this [nuclear power] could be a

great help in Pakistan's security. We should show our strength. Only Pakistan can control India's supremacy in this region. Pakistan is the only hope for smaller countries like Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Maldives and Sikkim [as published]. Therefore, we have to take a bold stand."

Self-Sufficiency Reached

91AS1500B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 7 Aug 91 p 4

[News Report: "Pakistan Should Announce Nuclear Capability—Tarik Chowdhery"]

[Text] Islamabad (Jasara Correspondent)—Pakistan has attained full nuclear capability. This is no longer a secret. Pakistan should declare it openly, and offer to sell the technology to other Islamic nations. This opinion was expressed by Senator Mohammed Tariq Chowdhery in a press conference last evening. He was talking about Pakistan's position in the world, and said that Pakistan has always been hurt because of its foreign policy. It has lost the respect of other nations. The cooperation between Jews and Christians under the "new world order" has created a new situation, and the Islamic world has not expressed any interest in countering it. Pakistan, which has played a major role in the Islamic world, has become inactive because it has no foreign minister. We have no one to participate in the Foreign Ministers Conference of Islamic Nations. We have given the whole authority to a bureaucrat. He said that we needed a foreign minister who could determine the priority of our foreign policy and international relations.

Politicization of National Security Issues Condemned

92AS0002C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Sep 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Consensus Takes Time"]

[Text] The Indus Water Apportionment Accord and the National Finance Commission Award among the provinces received a serious setback when the third meeting of the Council of Common Interests (CCI) presided over by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in Islamabad on Monday, failed to evolve a consensus on follow-up action on the accords. Highly placed sources disclosed that despite a five-hour long meeting, the provincial chiefs refused to compromise on matters of "vital interest" to their units. What is of immediate import is that if consensus has not been arrived at just yet, it does not mean that the sky has fallen in. Since the job of the CCI is to resolve the problems being faced by the four provinces, it has to keep on pegging away till it strikes a solution which is acceptable to all of them. Rome, as they say, was not built in a day and where matters of momentous import to the provinces are concerned, it will take time for a consensus to be evolved.

The problems to be resolved by the CCI are of a politico-economic nature and they are bound to take

time. These matters, therefore, should be treated with a coolness of mind and a sanity of approach which will not result in any sort of acrimony. The next meeting of the CCI is scheduled to be held in October and till then the government has time to smooth over the rough edges. All that the recent meeting of the CCI has emphasised is that most of the outstanding problems facing the country have not been resolved even after 44 years. That is what is disturbing. But all the provinces will have to negotiate on the basis of some give and take. If there is a common desire to accommodate other parties, it should not be long before some sort of a compromise is reached. The whole exercise should be conducted dispassionately so that charged emotions are not permitted to vitiate the atmosphere

Above all, neither the government nor the Opposition should try to make political capital out of the CCI's failure this time to evolve a consensus. The rights of the provinces are supreme and it is up to the Centre to see that justice is done to them. However, any attempt by any party to exploit the situation politically can only lead to further chaos and confusion, to the detriment of the country. It is time our politicians realised that each and every matter of national import which cannot be solved at the first go is hardly an excuse to blame the government for a total failure in solving the problems of the country. It is imperative that both the government and the Opposition act with the maturity that is expected of them.

Privatization: 'A Leap in the Dark'

92AS0158D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
13 Oct 91 p 6

[Article by Aslam Sheikh]

[Text] [Boxed item] Many may disagree with some of these arguments but experience in many countries has shown that privatisation is an arduous and complicated exercise. In the developing countries, its implementation may not repeat that success or benefits of the developed countries like Britain, a long-standing Welfare State, that had to deal with its own peculiar problems. Then many countries have discovered that thin domestic capital market, adverse economic conditions and the resistance of trade unions and civil servants are major irritants in consummating the process. [End box]

The extended deadline for the sale of more than 100 public sector enterprises is to expire later this week. But apprehensions linger in many quarters whether all is well with the process of privatisation undertaken by the government. Some are cautioning against the hasty pace of privatisation in a country where even the credentials of the private owners are suspect. For some sections of the advocates of private enterprise the procedures and modalities evolved by the present government are suspect as is indicated by the transfer of MCB [Muslim Commercial Bank]. More recently even the World Bank has reportedly cautioned the government against mere maximisation of sale prices. Then there are quarters (in Pakistan) who were concerned about the hazards of the penetration of foreign capital into certain sensitive areas through the process of privatisation.

A major contribution to the ongoing privatisation debate has come from two leading economists of Pakistan Institute of Development Economics [PIDE]. Whatever the compulsions of the present government to hasten the process of privatisation, the broader perspective in which Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi and A.R. Kemal of PIDE have debated the whole issue must be kept in view. Firstly, it needs to be emphasised that a substantial part of the economy in Pakistan remains in private hands, taking agriculture, forestry and fishing also into account. Even in manufacturing the public industrial enterprises, according to the study, account for only 10 percent of the value added in that area and their contribution to the GDP [gross domestic product] is only 2 percent. Secondly excluding Pakistan Steel, public sector industrial enterprises hold no more than 12.6 percent of the total fixed assets. Thirdly in the not too distant past many attempts to divest fourteen financially losing public units, out of total public sector enterprises, have failed.

But the most important finding of this study is that in general allocative and productive efficiency is primarily associated with the quality of management rather than with the locus of ownership. While some public enterprises showed losses, the study also highlights the fact that most of them made sufficiently large profits and this phenomenon cannot be attributed to the high rate of

protection. In fact their contention is that the average rate of effective protection for industries in the public sector, as a rule, is lower than that for the industries in the private sector.

The study also seeks to explode the popular myth that the public sector enterprises indulge in monopolistic practices as they point out those face competition both from the imports and the private sector. They also assert that the fiscal argument in favour of privatisation is weak because profit rates in most public enterprises tend to exceed the interest rate on public debt. The disinvestment of public sector enterprises may therefore increase the fiscal deficit rather than reduce it. Last but not least, they see no possibility of the emergence of so-called people's capitalism in Pakistan in view of low incomes of the workers and the practice of insider-trading in the stock exchanges of the country. Their apprehension is that in the circumstances and environment of Pakistan today workers may buy stocks only to earn some quick profits by transferring them ultimately to the richer stock-holders.

Many may disagree with some of these arguments but experience in many countries has shown that privatisation is an arduous and complicated exercise. In the developing countries, its implementation may not repeat that success or benefits of the developed countries like Britain, a long-standing Welfare State, that had to deal with its own peculiar problems. Then many countries have discovered that thin domestic capital market, adverse economic conditions and the resistance of trade unions and civil servants are major irritants in consummating the process. What the experts call the infrastructure of privatisation, above all the genuine entrepreneurs or efficient bankers and accountants, is generally inadequate in the under-developed economies. Hence the need for a cautious approach. Perhaps we may also benefit from the Chinese approach, which has retained the government ownership but improved enterprises efficiency through some other institutional measures of reform.

In Pakistan the private sector has as tarnished an image as that of the public sector. Selected families have still to live down their old reputation of exploiting workers, robbing the public exchequer and accumulating unethical and windfall profits in the captive market of the 'fifties' and the 'sixties.'

In recent months the public exposure of how some influential families have monopolised and misused bank credit as well as contributed to the massive cooperative scandal hardly improves the overall environment for reckless and uninhibited privatisation. While gratefully accepting the World Bank advice as well as offer of technical know-how about the correct handling of the privatisation process, the government will also be well-advised to halt its massive programme of transferring in panic valuable public assets to unreliable and, in many cases, unworthy private hands and do some re-thinking as to how to solve its fiscal crisis by some other means.

Some unloading of government shares may be necessary at an appropriate stage but it should be part of a well-considered scheme of reorganising economy to ensure more efficient allocation of resources and genuine addition to total national investment. Let it not be a leap in the dark.

Editorial Stresses Need for Guarantee of Deposits

92AS0140H Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
2 Oct 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Insure Bank Deposits"]

[Text] For the third time within ten years large crops of dubious companies receiving huge deposits from the public have defrauded them and left millions of depositors in distress. If that was done by the investment companies in the north and south of the country earlier, currently it is the cooperative finance corporations which have cheated over 2.5 million depositors.

The fault has been on the side of the companies which promised large profits to the depositors, who believed such wild promises, and of the economic system of the country which gives little or no return to the depositors of regular commercial banks because of the high inflation rate, plus the 2.5 percent Zakat deduction.

In such a context, it is imperative to protect bank deposits through the kind of deposit guarantee schemes operating in many of the Western countries. This is all the more essential in a country in which the rate of savings is very low, investible funds limited and industrial expansion demands a great deal more than is readily available.

THE MUSLIM has been in the lead in pleading for a deposit guarantee scheme. Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz now says that a committee has been appointed under the chairmanship of the Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan, and with representatives of banks and the Insurance Corporation of Pakistan as its members, to examine a proposal to insure deposits up to Rs.[rupees]100,000. That will be something like deposits up to 100,000 dollars insured in the United States.

Through such a scheme the manner in which the deposits are used will be scrutinised not only by the State Bank but also the insuring agency, which can lose heavily if the deposits are permitted to be misused by the banks or other deposit collecting agencies. Let positive steps be taken in this direction if the rate of savings, which is one of the lowest in the world, has to go up and more of the resources are to be mobilised for industrial investment.

Simultaneously, it is imperative for the government to come up with measures to provide for a reasonable rate of return to the depositors instead of the negative rate prevailing now, if adjusted for the real inflation. If depositors are losers in real terms, as they are now, the

people will keep on looking for other sources which promise better terms and lose their money in the process again.

Government-Workers Committee Agreement Commended

92AS0161G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Oct 91 p 6

[Editorial: "A Model Agreement"]

[Text] The process of privatisation of industrial enterprises in the public sector is the present government's strongest suit. So, at least, it would like the country and the world to understand. Not all is going famously about privatisation, however. The response from the marketplace could hardly be less flattering, an expensive advertising campaign notwithstanding. It is some comfort, therefore, to learn that the government has managed to work out what looks like a fairly sensible agreement with the labour in the enterprises up for sale. The prospect of privatisation had naturally sent a wave of profound unease among the working people employed in these outfits. Suddenly they found themselves under a dense cloud of uncertainty, private employers' reputation in Pakistan being what it is. The Minister for Labour, Mr Ejazul Haq, seems to have done a good job. It is not often that government secures full and winning endorsement of the workers' bodies. This time it has really scored impressively and what better proof of success than the complete agreement of the All Pakistan State Enterprises Workers' Action Committee [APSEWAC]?

A glance at the agreement is sufficient to assure that both parties—the workers' representatives and the government—have done their homework with diligence and good will. The deal takes care of almost every eventuality and with due regard for the interests of the workers on the one hand and the future employer on the other. The best deal is one in which both the seller and buyer stand to gain equally. This agreement stands this test. The workers are offered fair options and choices. There is no forcing of unpalatable conditions. All possible doors have been kept open for the workers as well as their prospective employers. Those wanting to call it a day when their workplace changes hands can do so with the promise of a handsome take-home packet. That is just as it ought to have been. The 'golden handshake' certainly has the glitter that the name assures.

For those workers who may find themselves left in a state not quite to their liking, the government has promised to look after their interests to the best of its ability. Those few left without work or working conditions not to their liking would be assured of preferential treatment in respect of re-employment in suitable alternative jobs. For many there is the assurance of stop-gap facilities for a reasonable period. This would be a cushion against possible adversity or distress. All in all, the government-APSEWAC agreement is a commendable effort to settle what could have been an exasperatingly complex

problem. It must be noted that the workers' action committee has acted with maturity and sweet reasonableness. Their conduct could be a model for future employee-employer relations and a guarantee of peace and cooperation to serve the best interests of all concerned.

Commentaries View Cooperatives' Crash

Cooperatives Scandal Debated

92AS0170A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
14 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, Oct 13—The National Assembly on Sunday agreed to initiate a thread-bare discussion on the cooperative scandal, which according to the acting Speaker Nawaz Khokhar, would continue for at least three days.

The much-agitated issue, which is considered as the largest financial scandal, involving a huge amount of Rs[rupees]20 billion, was raised by the opposition leader Iftikhar Gillani, who forcefully pleaded for putting aside all the business of the House and fix the issue for immediate consideration by the House as it was related to hundreds of thousands of poor people whose money, as he put it, has been plundered.

The Federal Minister for Cooperatives Gen Majid Malik, who had been told by his party not to oppose any motion on the subject, stood up to inform the Speaker that he had no objection for holding a debate on the issue which he said had affected a large number of countrymen. He said he was for accepting the move right from the beginning but could not intervene between the "two Chaudharies" who were earlier busy in allegations and counter allegations against each other.

An interesting encounter earlier took place between the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] frontliner Ch Aitzaz Ahsan and the Interior Minister Ch Shujaat. It started on a point of privilege raised by the PDA leader against a press statement of Ch Shujaat in which he accused him of buying a piece of land by obtaining money from some cooperative while he was holding the portfolio in the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] cabinet. Clarifying this, Ch Aitzaz Ahsan told the House that he never purchased any land during his ministerial tenure and he was not one of them who plundered the hard-earned money of poor people. He challenged the Interior Minister to declare as what were the assets of his family at the time of independence and what assets he and his family possessed today.

The Interior Minister replying to his allegation said he was prepared to hold an indepth discussion on the cooperative issue during which the people would be told all the facts. The Opposition, he said, should not become emotional and should wait for an appropriate hour.

Taking the initiative Law Minister Ch Abdul Ghafoor informed the Speaker that he was ready to move a motion to debate the issue.

The Treasury Benches, however, did not agree to the proposal moved by Shahid Khakan Abbasi who headed a House committee on the same subject that the report of his committee which he promised to submit to the House on Monday, should form a basis of the discussion. The Law Minister said the committee was constituted in the last session to deal with the issue in a different situation.

Complaints of Victims Discussed

92AS0170B Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English 24 Oct 91
pp 16-17

[Article by Adnan Adil and Husain Sajjad: "The Woe of the Victims"; first paragraph is *VIEWPOINT* commentary]

[Text] While the Federal Minister of State for Co-operatives, Rana Nazir, claimed that about Rs[rupees]700 million had been repaid to 65,000 small depositors, a survey conducted by *VIEWPOINT* revealed that most of the small depositors had not been [given] their money back. Instead, influential big account-holders were being reimbursed. To do so the Co-operative had divided big accounts into small ones. However, it was only the NICFC [National Industrial Co-operative Finance Corporation] which had repaid some money. No other Co-operative had refunded money to their depositors contrary to the Government's claim.

While a heated discussion is going on in the National Assembly on the Co-operatives crash and the plight of the affectees, the Punjab Government has announced the seizure of the assets of 113 directors and promoters of some 47 Co-operative finance corporations. On the other hand, the affectees still maintain that their deposits have not been returned despite the Government's claims to the contrary.

The ongoing session of the National Assembly started with a debate on the Co-operatives and an exchange of allegations and counter-allegations by the Treasury Benches and the Opposition. Opposition leaders put the blame for the scandal on the Ittefaq Group and the Chaudhrys of Gujrat who took huge loans from the National Industrial Finance Corporation, the largest in the country, contrary to the cooperative spirit. On the other hand, the Treasury Benches accused the previous PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Government of being responsible for the scam as they said that it had failed to take note of the illegal banking carried out by the Co-operatives because its own Finance Minister, Mr. Ehsanul Haq Piracha, was involved. They said Mr. Piracha owned the Mercantile Co-operative, one of the Big Five.

Meanwhile, both Federal and the Punjab Government have taken some steps to arrest the situation. First, the

President and directors of the NICFC, which include Chaudhry Tajammal Husain (IJI MNA [Islamic Democratic Alliance—Member of National Assembly]), Chaudhry Abdul Majeed (IJI MPA) and Mr. Muhammad Usman Abbasi (IJI MPA), were restricted from travel abroad. Another 45 directors or members of these Co-operatives were also put on the Exit Control List.

Later, the Punjab Assembly passed two Bills on the Co-operatives reducing the period of repayment of loans from seven years to one-and-a-half year. A seven-year term in prison or a fine double the amount of the loan or both were prescribed for defaulters.

The Punjab Chief Minister, Mr. Ghulam Hyder Wyne, assured the House that foolproof arrangements would be made to scrutinise the assets of the corporations and all the properties which the directors of the Co-operatives had transferred to their relatives. He added that they would also be liable to same punishment if found guilty of wrongdoing.

Recently, the Punjab Government announced the seizure of the assets of 113 directors and promoters of some 47 Co-operative corporations. According to some reports, the list of the assets of the directors of these corporations would include the properties which the defaulters had transferred in the names of their relatives and friends. The Government decided that the property, urban as well as agriculture land owned by these corporations, would be auctioned to repay small depositors if the defaulters failed to return the amount within the stipulated time.

According to Mr. Wyne, Rs.18 billion were deposited with these Co-operatives. Of this, Rs.14 billion were deposited with five big Co-operatives whose account-holders numbered to 5,25,000 [as published]. He said that the remaining 96 Co-operatives did not have more than 12 percent of the total deposits and about 60 percent accounts were with the NICFC.

While the Federal Minister of State for Co-operatives, Rana Nazir, claimed that about Rs.700 million had been repaid to 65,000 small depositors, a survey conducted by VIEWPOINT revealed that most of the small depositors had not been their money back [as published]. Instead, influential big account-holders were being reimbursed. To do so the Co-operative had divided big accounts into small ones. However, it was only the NICFC which had repaid some money. No other Co-operative had refunded money to their depositors contrary to the Government's claim.

Some depositors interviewed by VIEWPOINT give their stories here:

Raj Bibi of Pattoki had deposited an amount of Rs.60,000 six months ago in the National Industrial Co-operative Finance Corporation (NICFC). She and her husband are labourers who work on daily wages. She has six sons and six daughters. Her husband has not been

able to work for the past few months because of protracted illness. Therefore, the poor old woman has to feed the whole family.

She says that on the advice of close relations, she deposited her savings with the NICFC. She says that she never knew that she would be swindled out of her life's savings. With eyes full of tears, she told this correspondent last week that she had to arrange for the marriage of one of her daughter and for the last two months she has been visiting the Co-operative daily to get her money back. She said that it was really distressing to come to Lahore all the way from Pattoki as the fares had increased a lot. The NICFC had been leading her up the garden path for the last two months and she was not certain whether her efforts to get her money back would be fruitful or not.

Mr. Mohammad Hafeez runs a milk shop in Sanda. He has nine children who are not old enough to lend him a helping hand. He deposited Rs.50,000 with the NICFC. He said that RS.25,000 were promised to be returned to him but the lengthy process of getting his money back had compelled him to visit the NICFC offices daily for the last couple of months. He said he was not so sure if he would get his savings back. He said that cheque books were not provided to the affectees and generally the NICFC staff misled the people.

Mr. Abdul Hameed deposited Rs.1,000,000 with the NICFC. He has four children. He is a daily wage labourer. He lives in Mochi Gate. He has been visiting the NICFC offices for the last three months as he has to arrange for the marriage of his sister. He says the NICFC staff appointed a person to make arrangements for the marriage instead of giving them cash in hand but that person, too, disappeared.

He is pessimistic and thinks he has lost his money. He says that poor illiterate people are not being provided with proper guidance. The procedure of the NICFC is typical of Government offices. He says that the rich and influential people have got their money back while the poor are being fed on promises.

An old man who had luck on his side at last succeeded in getting back a considerable part of his savings. He is a retired man. He deposited Rs.72,000 with the NICFC. He had been visiting the NICFC offices for the last couple of months. He said that as the rate of interest offered by the Cooperatives was higher than that given by the banks, he preferred to deposit his money with a Coop. He said that the repayment of his money was a miracle. He said that those who could approach the high and mighty were getting their entire deposits back easily, but the poor men had to face myriad problems.

Mr. Amanat Ali had deposited Rs.11,000 with the NICFC. He criticised the lengthy procedures for repayment. He said that he deposited his money with the NICFC as the staff used to co-operate with the people but the situation had changed completely now.

An employee of the NICFC who was also deprived of his Rs.250,000, criticised the Government reaction to the Coop crash. He said that Government announced that those having up to Rs.50,000 in the NICFC were being given back their deposits. This was totally false. He said that even repayments of Rs.10,000 were not being made yet. He said that influential people had their cheques honoured but those given to the poor were often dishonoured. He alleged that the Government swindled the money of the common people and now the influential people were taking over the NICFC real estate illegally. He alleged that Mr. Ghulam Dastgir Khan had illegally occupied the Khan Plaza in Gujranwala.

Another malpractice was that influential people were working as commission agents in the NICFC who were getting cheques encashed on a fifty-fifty basis.

Khan Muhammad, a resident of District Toba Tek Singh, said that he had deposited Rs.400,000 with the NICFC on the advice of his friends. On his part, he advised many others to open their accounts in the Cooperative. After the recent collapse, his friends and relatives were creating problems for him and holding him responsible for the loss of their money. He is the sole breadwinner for a 20-member family. He was an employee of the NICFC but now he is running about in search of a job and for the return of his money. He said that the Government was paying only lip-service to the affectees. He charged the Government was itself responsible for the collapse.

Mr. Mohammad Mansha, who was serving with the NICFC since 1975, had secured Rs.5.2 million in deposits from 18 people. He had invested Rs.300,000 himself. He has seven children, all of them too young to contribute anything to the family so he has to carry the burden alone. He has a house near Baghbanpura. He said that he was too old to find another job. He said that starvation might lead him to commit crimes. He said that the Government should be held responsible for the whole affair.

Mr. Fazal Muhammad, an old man, had invested Rs.66,000 with the NICFC. He lives in a katchi abadi near Mughalpura. He has a family of 12. His two sons work in Government offices on contract. He said that with prices going up every day, it was becoming increasingly difficult to feed a large family. He said that the salaries paid to his sons were not enough to enable the family to see the month through.

He said that his deposits with the NICFC was the only hope his family had for a better future. He said that Government had announced that Rs.400 million would be provided to the NICFC but no such payment had been made yet. About the repayments, he said that it was only a fraud just to calm down the people who had lost their all.

Mr. Nazir Hussain had sold his land which was his only property for Rs.1 million. He lives near Kahna Kachha and visits the NICFC main branch daily in the hope that

a miracle will happen. He has eight children of school-going age. So he has to feed the family by borrowing money from different people. He said that the people had stopped lending him money as they did not believe that their money would ever be repayed. He said that people never thought that an institution which had been in business for the last 27 years would collapse so suddenly.

A man who was an employee of the NICFC revealed that the Government had appointed many agents who bought the cheques of the affectees on half of their face value. A cheque for Rs.100,000 was being bought at Rs.50,000 and the cheque was deposited in the agent's own accounts. Mr. Sohail Zia Butt (MPA [member of Provincial Assembly]) was also alleged to be involved in this racket. He alleged that Mr. Wyne had a big account in the Raja Chamber branch of the NICFC which he had already been withdrawn. Other influential people had also got their money back. He said that Mr. Majeed, the Director of the NICFC was pressured by the Government into returning influential people's deposits.

Punjab Scandal Brought to Light

92AS0170C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
21 Oct 91 p 12

[Text] Lahore, Oct 20—Punjab was hit by yet another co-op scandal on Sunday calling for government's intervention to get back money to the depositors from Pasban Cooperative Finance Corporation.

The depositors together with employees of the said corporation marched in a procession on The Mall carrying banners. They were raising slogans against a former MNA [member of National Assembly] from Gujranwala, Shaikh Mohammad Mansoor, who, according to them, had squandered the money and assets of the said company denying repayment to the depositors for the past several years. The demonstrators alleged that Skaikh Mansoor posing as managing director of Pasban with others namely Dr Arif Ali and Dr Asghar Ali, managed to draw sums worth crores of rupees from the company and also made a fortune through shady deals in Rahwali Sugar Mills and land transactions.

Pasban, one of the co-op finance companies, first came to light during the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government under Benazir Bhutto. There had been some complaints about its affairs including non-payment of dues to its depositors. But the matter seemed to have subsided because of "good terms" Sh Mansoor was stated to have with the PPP and his assurance to repay the deposits.

According to reliable sources the Cooperative Department during an inquiry placed the value of the assets of Pasban around Rs[rupees]8 crore. But the depositors claimed estimates of their deposits many times more than the value of the assets. According to depositors the amount squandered in the company stood around Rs800

million while Rs200 million were borrowed from the company by the top office holders in the management.

Time Frame for Repayments Set

92AS0170D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
23 Oct 91 pp 1, 10

[Article by Shakil Shaikh: "Twelve-Month NA (National Assembly) Time Frame To Repay Co-op Deposits"]

[Text] Islamabad, Oct 22—A twelve-month timeframe has been approved by the Lower House of Parliament with a majority vote on Tuesday for ensuring repayment of money to millions of depositors of the cooperative societies throughout the country.

The House Committee, following its expansion with inclusion of top Opposition leaders, will act as "supervisory committee" to oversee all the activities of the companies besides supervising the implementation of the recommendations in the approved substantive motion and submit a periodical progress report to the National Assembly [NA] as frequently as possible.

The Provincial Government, according to ruling party's motion which was passed through voting by voice, will set up a high-level committee under the Chief Secretary or the Finance Secretary to supervise and guide the work of the Vigilance Committee to ensure that money of the depositors, especially small depositors, is returned within 12 months.

There will be a "Vigilance Committee" appointed by the Provincial Government for each cooperative society involved in the illegal banking activities. The terms of reference of this Vigilance Committee for each coop would be:

(i) to supervise the safe custody and management of the assets of the society;

(ii) to propose steps for improving the financial liquidity of the society through judicious sale or mortgage of assets, and speedy recovery of its outstanding loans;

(iii) to verify the liabilities of the society and utilise funds as they come available to pay off these liabilities in an equitable manner, with priority for the repayment of small deposits up to Rs[rupees]50,000. These Vigilance Committees will be headed by a qualified Chartered Accountant nominated by the Registrar, Cooperative Societies under his legal powers and will include a banker nominated by the Pakistan Banking Council and the chief executive of the cooperative society concerned. Under these arrangements the present management of the society will retain responsibility for managing the assets and liabilities of the society under the supervision of the Vigilance Committee.

These along with other conditions were approved by the National Assembly in a form of IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance]-backed substantive motion when it was put before the House for its approval.

The PDA's [People's Democratic Alliance] substantive motion along with another motion moved by JI MNA [Jamaat-i-Islami Member of National Assembly] Liaquat Baloch, was not accepted by the House.

The ruling party's motion was also amended on the request of the PDA Members, with addition of one clause that "a Committee of the House as proposed by the Speaker in consultation with the leader of the House and leader of the Opposition, will be formed to oversee the whole process of repayment of deposits."

The approved motion was put before the House after a 6-day-long debate on the coops scam, as asked by the Members of the ruling party.

Notwithstanding to resolve the present crisis in the coops sector, the motion contained also that "where feasible the approach suggested in the motion should also be applied in the case of defunct finance and investment companies to protect the interest of depositors."

The NA approved motion in the form of a resolution, urged the government to evolve, in consultation with the Provincial Governments, a more effective legislative and regulatory framework for the coop finance sector in future inter alias to

(i) restrict the operation of the society within a specified area,

(ii) introduce a strict requirement of liquidity deposit ratio,

(iii) impose limits on deposits and advances,

(iv) introduce a deposit insurance scheme for the protection of small depositors, and

(v) prescribe deterrent punishments for violation of such a framework.

It also called upon the government to take effective steps in collaboration with the Provincial Governments to safeguard the interests of depositors.

The motion moved by Ch Amir Hussain, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and Lt. Gen. (Retd) Abdul Majid Malik, Minister for Food, Agriculture and Cooperatives, asked the Members to express deep concern over the crisis created by the failure of the defunct finance companies to meet their obligations and return the amounts deposited with them by thousands of depositors most of whom are low income families.

It also asked the House to deplore the inability of successive governments, both at the Federal and Provincial levels, to take effective action to stop the unregulated raising of funds and unchecked growth of the defunct finance companies and cooperative societies.

The same motion recorded appreciation of the House for the report of Special Committee of the National

Assembly on coop finance companies and defunct finance companies submitted to the National Assembly on Oct. 15 last.

While the Treasury Benches were occupied by almost 70 ruling Members, only 7 PDA Members, excluding Benazir Bhutto, were present in the House at the time of accepting/rejecting the "substantive motion" which followed about half a century speakers from both the sides.

Earlier, winding up the debate on coop scandal, Minister for Cooperatives Majid Malik recommended that the report of the House Committee on coops was very useful and currently under the examination for its acceptance.

He recommended:

- (i) deposits up to Rs.25,000 will be paid in total;
- (ii) the payment areas will be expanded to all the divisions and areas concerned;
- (iii) at the moment only two main coops are paying and the remaining three major cooperatives will be forced to pay soon;
- (iv) deposits up to Rs.50,000 will be paid from Dec. 1991 and above that amount will be paid soon thereafter;
- (v) widows, orphans, pensioners and handicapped will be given preference in payment, irrespective of amount of their deposits;
- (vi) strict laws are being made by the government of the Punjab which would be followed by the other provinces, for confiscation of property of the defaulters, companies, down to the circle and district level;
- (vii) the House Committee will be expanded with the inclusion of PDA Members which will act as supervisory committee to oversee all the activities of the companies;
- (viii) the government will try and ensure to recover every penny of the depositors from the defaulters;
- (ix) the loans from the defaulters will be recovered within 12 months. If they fail to pay the amount, criminal cases will be registered against them.

He also assured that the suggestions and proposals given by various Members of the House would be examined thoroughly and those practicable would be materialised.

He said the Prime Minister has directed him from Harare on Tuesday morning to "do what best the government can do for repaying the deposits to the small depositors."

He informed the House that a total of Rs.16 billion are unpaid deposits in these coops, including the big five—NICFC [National Industrial Co-operative Finance Corporation], NICCC [expansion not given], SCCC, MCC, and PCC [Services Credit Cooperative Cooperation, Mercantile Co-operative, Pasban Co-operative Corporation].

Gen. Majid said the known assets of these companies are worth Rs11 billion while loans taken from these companies ran to the tune of Rs5.03 billion. The liabilities of these big five coops are NICFC-NICCC Rs11 billion, with 60 percent claims, SCCC Rs.2.05 billion, Pasban Rs0.8 billion, and Mercantile Rs0.8 billion. However, the former Finance Minister informed the House that total liability of Mercantile was Rs 430 million.

Mr Majid said the five companies share 90 percent of total deposits, which so far have paid Rs 650 million. One lakh small depositors have already been paid off from these companies while depositors up to Rs 50,000 will be cleared by December this year.

He also said that the proposal of forming a judicial commission for probing the scandal would not be opposed by the government.

He termed all the allegations of the Opposition as blatant lies, which according to him are being made for political gains.

"We will welcome the Opposition leader Ms Bhutto and other PDA stalwarts to become part of the House Committee," announced the Minister.

He, however, admitted taking of loans from coops by the Ittefaq and Chaudhary Groups owned by the Prime Minister and Chaudhary Bros., respectively.

"The government will not avoid facing crisis, but would resolve it by its sheer efforts," said the Minister who also narrated the background of the crisis which according to him was a "national tragedy."

Mr Majid believed that majority of the speeches from the Opposition Benches on the issue were irrelevant, with a clear aim of recording scores.

Taking part in the debate the Federal Finance Minister, Sartaj Aziz accused the dismissed PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government of not taking appropriate steps to control the crisis.

He accused the former Finance Minister, Mr Piracha of using delaying tactics which led to the escalation of the scandal.

Appreciating the report of the House Committee headed by IJI MNA Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, the Finance Minister assured that the government would take new initiatives in the light of the report of the committee for repaying deposits.

He said the government is also considering a proposal of merging several viable coops into a cooperative bank.

He hailed the recent steps taken by the Provincial Government for returning deposits to the depositors of the societies.

At the time of accepting/rejecting the substantive motion, the IJI MNA, Liaquat Baloch, who also put his

motion before the House, refused to withdraw it despite requests from the Ministers.

The Speaker informed that all the three substantive motions—IJI, PDA and Liaquat Baloch's motions—were hit by certain rules and provisions of laws. He, however, used his discretionary powers to put them in the House for voting.

Fifteen speakers took part in the debate throughout Tuesday. Khurshid Shah, Afzal Khan, Aitzaz Ahsan, Sartaj Aziz, Majid Malik, Ahmed Hassan and Mehmood Khan Achakzai were speakers in the evening session which lasted till 10.30 p.m.

Spiraling Taxes in New AJK Budget

92AS0040 Karachi DAWN in English 12 Sep 91 p 3

[Article by A.A. Salaria: "Budget Makes Life Miserable"]

[Text] To label it as 'Tax-free' is a misnomer. Actually the AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] Budget for 91-92 is bristling with new levies and fees which are going to hit the common man. People belonging to the middle, lower-middle classes and the low-income group, already groaning under the intolerable burden of spiralling prices of necessities of life, are going to find it increasingly difficult to shoulder the additional expenditure which will be inescapable in the normal routine of family life.

The new taxation proposals were incorporated in the Finance Bill presented to the AJK Legislative Assembly, during its recent session, by the Law Minister. The Bill envisages the enactment of AJK Finance Act 1991, which is to amend and supersede the AJK Finance Acts of 1975, 1986 and 1988. Besides, it imposes a new Kashmir Liberation cess on public servants of all classes and categories.

The two most important public-welfare sectors adversely affected by new taxation are Health and Education. Healthcare, which has hitherto been free for the common man, is going to cost him considerably in future. In all district headquarter hospitals and C.M.H.s [Combined Military Hospitals], the patients will be required to pay special fees for all sorts of laboratory tests and special investigation, ranging from Rs. [rupees] 3 to Rs. 25 each. A special X-ray investigation will cost Rs. 40, while normal charges for each X-ray examination will be Rs. 25. Ultrasound and E.C.G. tests will cost Rs. 25 and Rs. 30 respectively. In addition to the operation theatre charges of Rs. 25, each major operation will cost Rs. 150 and a minor operation Rs. 50. Charges for each dressing will be Rs. 10 and indoor patients will have to pay a new bed fee. Even for ordinary and routine examination by a medical officer, the patients will be charged a fee of Rs. 3.

Similarly, in a bid to boost income, fees and cess have been levied in the Education sector. Hitherto, education has been free in this region and no tuition fee was being charged right from the Primary to the Degree level. The

situation has now changed and education has become a costly facility, particularly for the poor people.

According to the new schedule, the rates of tuition fees, prevalent in the comparatively affluent province of Punjab are going to be enforced in Azad Kashmir as well. Besides paying other fees and funds, levied by schools and colleges, the students from Middle to the Degree level, will be required to pay tuition fees ranging from Rs. 3 to Rs. 20 per month. This will be in addition to an admission fee, ranging from Rs. 1 to Rs. 30, payable by all students seeking admission from Primary to Degree classes.

As if this was not enough, the rates of Education Cess levied on different Government transactions have been enhanced. The rates of cess on the registration of property vary according to the value of the property. It is also chargeable on registration of vehicles of all sorts, including private cars and motorcycles, and on driving licences, passports and on issuance and renewal of arms licences. Similarly, it is being levied on extraction of timber, on allotment, sale and purchase of plots, on contractors and on all applications submitted for obtaining examination, nomination and State Subject certificates.

Kashmir Liberation Cess: A new tax, called the Kashmir Liberation Cess, is being levied on all Government servants and on all employees of autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies, including the AJK University. Its rates vary for different pay-scales from Rs. 4 to Rs. 300 per month, and will be deducted from the salaries of all employees, right from a Naib-Qasid to the AJK President.

As explained in the Budget speech, the Liberation cess is being levied to collect funds from the relief and temporary rehabilitation of refugees from Occupied areas who are pouring in large numbers into Azad Kashmir. It also aims at generating a consciousness among the public servants of close association and practical participation in the freedom struggle.

Because of their genuine sympathy and solidarity with their brethren across the border, the public servants, on the whole, do not mind paying the liberation cess. The aims and objectives of the levy, as enunciated by the Government, are quite laudable. But what rankles in their minds is the possibility of the funds being frittered on banquets, receptions, foreign tours and on disbursement of emoluments to unnecessary staff. They would be quite willing to contribute even more, if they were assured of proper spending of the funds.

Public reaction: Following the introduction of the Finance Bill in the Assembly, there was an uproar among the people against the imposition of new taxes. There were rallies, public meetings and processions in different parts of the region and some members of the Assembly also protested against the proposed levy of medical fees, cess and tuition fees in schools and colleges. As a result, some of the provisions of the Bill were watered down

before it was unanimously adopted by the Assembly. The rates of some of the medical fees have been reduced and, in the Education sector, a provision has been made that if the eldest child of a family pays full fees, his younger brothers and sisters will be entitled to fee concessions.

Interviewed on telephone, the AJK Prime Minister explained that the real objective underlying the imposition of new fees was not an increase in income, which would be only nominal, but to create a sense of public participation in the medi-care of their families and in the education of their children. Whatever the underlying motive, the Government has provided another handle to the opposition which is exploiting the situation by holding rallies and issuing statements against the Finance Bill approved by the Legislative Assembly.

Budget: There is nothing remarkable about the AJK Budget for 91-92, except its size and its unimpeded passage through the Assembly. The Rs. 3.80 billion budget shows a marginal increase of Rs. 67 million to the preceding year's budget estimates. In the current Budget, Rs. 1.24 billion have been allocated for the Development Programme, while more than double that amount, totaling Rs. 2.56 billion has been set aside for the non-developmental expenditure.

The total income accruing from internal resources comes up hardly to Rs. 837 million. This is to be supplemented by Rs. 285 million from the AJK Council, Rs. 13.3 million by AJK shares from the Federal taxes and Rs. 12 million from the Capital receipts. The Government of Pakistan will supply a subsidy of Rs. 1.42 billion to make up the shortfall in the Revenue budget and another amount of Rs. 1.14 billion for the development projects. Thus, it is obvious, that the bulk of both the Revenue and Development budgets is to be contributed by the Government of Pakistan. All along, the AJK economy has been a crippling liability on the Federal Government.

Over the years, the AJK Government has made no concerted efforts to develop its internal resources for increasing its income and it continues to be heavily dependent on the largesse of Pakistan Government. At the same time, the non-developmental expenditure of the Government has been rapidly increasing. A heavy drain on the Government exchequer is an unnecessary to-heavy administration and its maintenance in a princely style. In the previous Cabinet there were as many as 20 Ministers and Advisers and the present government, despite its tall claims about exercising austerity, has already recruited 14 Ministers, while several more, who are waiting in the wings, are expected to be installed as Ministers and Advisers. A big fleet of costly Pajeros for its Ministerial staff was reportedly imported by the previous PPP [Pakistan People's Party] regime. As if that was not enough, orders are reported to have been placed for the purchase of more vehicles. Lavish spending, amounting almost to extravagance, has been the hallmark of successive AJK governments.

On the whole, the recent session of the AJK Legislative Assembly, which concluded last week, was comparatively colourless and insipid. Because of the absence of any worthwhile Opposition, which consisted only of two members, there were hardly any fireworks and the new Budget was passed without a dissenting vote, almost unanimously.

Government's Privatization Efforts Said Unrealistic

92AS0167C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
8 Oct 91 p 6

[Text] The World Bank has rejected the ongoing privatisation efforts of the Pakistan Government as unrealistic on a number of grounds. In a letter of 13 September the Bank said that the two goals of the government—maximising the sales revenues and privatising more than 100 companies—"are in conflict." The Bank is of the opinion that the time given to the Privatisation Commission for completing its task was inadequate. If the government wanted to maximise the sale proceeds of the projects that were to be disposed of, the Commission should have been given sufficient time to prepare a proper sales prospectus to market the issues—always a time-consuming process. Again, a successful sales effort requires "the production of prospectus containing independently audited accounts and information regarding lines of business, material investment programme, legal disputes, alternative valuations, etc." It is evident that the government has not carried out any of these exercises.

The World Bank believes that in order to protect the privatisation process the Pakistan Government should obtain legal advice regarding the implication of swapping government-guaranteed debt into commercial debt, the status of land leases and potential restriction on its use, the status of labour contracts, the legal implications of selling nationalised properties to third parties and rules of liquidation. The World Bank further maintained that no country had been able to complete divestiture of over 100 companies in the timeframe in which the Privatisation Commission had been asked to complete it. It estimates that, it will take 18 months to develop and execute a traditional divestiture programme. It could, however, be completed in six to 12 months if share distribution scheme is adopted. Once again, these are all things into which the Nawaz Sharif government does not seem to have gone.

The way the sales proceeds are to be utilised by the government even after it has completed its privatisation programme, is also not very practical. According to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, he envisages spending the sales proceeds on defence, education and health in more or less equal proportion. These are all items of non-development expenditures which can in no way bring

any short or medium term returns and will not help the government to honour its commitment to the International Monetary Fund to reduce such expenditure, so that the budgetary gap remains restricted to 4.8 percent of the GNP [gross national product]. In fact the rising trend in non-development expenditure both at the

Federal and the provincial level leaves little hope of the pledge to the IMF being fulfilled. The entire privatisation scheme appears to have been worked out in a hurry as if it were some kind of a magic wand, which had only to be waved to drive away the phantom of budgetary deficit.

Social System Said Degenerating

92AS0040B Karachi DAWN (Supplement) in English
12 Sep 91 pp 1, 2

[Article by Mohammed Rias: "Pakistani Society: Out on a Limb"]

[Text] Pakistani society today is facing the future, it seems, with its eyes shut. Even if it were not, the future would appear grim.

More so, since the ramshackle economy has been pushing the illiterate and poor rural masses to congregate in formidable numbers in already crowded urban centres and upsetting the fragile balance between hope and despair. The urban people fear they're besieged by disaster, with their political, economic and social structures and values successively eroded, by political neglect, indulgent corruption, and lastly, by the rural onslaught.

Unprecedented and unchecked, urban crowding lends itself strongly to the belief that the country would perhaps soon be turned into one vast rural sprawl with every distinction between metropolitan progress and static countryside rased. The looming danger is that civilisation's breeding grounds will ultimately be lost to the besieging rusticity. And all that will be left would perhaps be unexciting prominences of ignorance, apathy, insensitivity, alienation, rivalry, fragmentation, decay and chaos.

Civilisation is known to be exclusively an urban product. So have been all the religions. Human progress too has largely been a metropolitan affair. To undo a civilisation, a swarming of its values by a deluge of people strangers to such values, has been one of the effective devices known. And with a majority of Pakistanis now living in ten big cities of the country (and one out of every ten of them living in Karachi alone), and adding daily to the existing crush of people there, it does not take an expert to realise that perhaps much that the urban culture and society has achieved in Pakistan is in jeopardy.

To study, under the circumstances, the ingredients of Pakistani society and to chart its future course have become extremely difficult. The effort is often thwarted by the fast changing social scene in which, before a proper appraisal of one element is achieved, the result is washed out by changes in the other. Maybe some 20 odd years ago, despite the effects of political ups and downs on society, a study of Pakistan's social scene was always as cosy an exercise as it was meaningful. Whether static or dynamic, fraught with pitfalls or full of promises, the social scene never produced grounds for pessimism. Hope was always the resolving outcome.

The clash of values occurring almost daily in practically every aspect of urban life since is a source of genuine concern for those who see before their very eyes a constant battering of values dear to them. Education, irrespective of quality, is said to release influences

endowing man with varying degrees of concern for human life and rights, ideas of tolerance, respect for law and other social norms, freedom of expression and thought and similar other ennobling notions. An urban inhabitant, with easy access to education, often considers himself part of such concerns and ideas. Also that, he is in a position, if he wills, to promote their furtherance. He regrets the constant bouts of values that have been operating as a check.

However, no amount of urban lament would reverse the rural glut. Perhaps, it is not, after all, the sole cause of urban social decline. Part of the decay affecting the people at large, is said to be the metropolitan phenomenon itself, which indeed had caused both the rise and fall of values as well as of societies. Pakistan's is a mixture of cultures, at the base of which is a thick cluster of feudal values; lodged somewhere between its two major components is a strand of Western, industrial values; topped by a host of Islamic ones.

Damaging

The Pakistan society reflects the beliefs, both social and moral, held by a majority of its citizens. There is also a confused legacy, of a long and damaging association with the British Raj, enjoying a somewhat dubious respect with the existence of English as the lingua franca of government. It is aid to have added a veneer of respectability to Pakistan's cultural image. How in the absence or meagre presence of such factors as robust economic growth, political stability, able and responsible administration, greater social justice and high literacy, the country's culture would have profited by the mere tinsel of respectability accorded to it by the English in an enigma.

Soon after Pakistan had come into being, its new society underwent a quasi-catharsis—the tragic trauma of bloodshed caused by communal frenzy at Partition could have destroyed a great many shibboleths of old Muslim society, but these largely remained undisturbed; an impetus was made available, if needed, to demolish feudalism whose existence had long proved ruinous, but was never used. The birth of a new national identity had brought a sense of mission devoted to channelling people's energies in constructing the largest Muslim state as a paragon of social, moral and other virtues, but the energies were squandered.

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact responsibility for such failures. Perhaps what was needed was the direction of affairs by dynamic and stronger hands with inspired souls within. But since this was not possible or available, what happened was inevitable. Perhaps much of the blame lies on political battles cropping up, soon after the old controlling hands had gone. These spoiled the climate conducive to a healthy growth of social and moral values which could, together with an accountable political and economic set-up, have met the challenge of the fast-changing world order that was replacing the colonial era by a new spell of Western economic domination.

But the general decline of values in Pakistan is more complex in causes. Since most of our moral values derive from a distinct ideology which is backed by national religion, there is little ground to suppose they would suffer an damage. Yet it seems they have suffered a lot. It is not the precepts and obedience to fixed tenets that is in jeopardy; the people have largely adhered to them as evident from an unprecedented rise in the number of mosques. No, what is meant is, somehow there has been generally a less ardent espousal of those Islamic values the observance of which ennoble a human being—compassion, tolerance, love, passion against injustice and repression, concern for fairplay etc.

Effort

A probe into the decline of these values, would reveal that while most of them depended for their survival on individual effort, yet all of them needed sustenance from society as a whole. Here one enters into the area of government and its ethics which has been plummeting since the few first years of national life. An honest government is said to produce honest people. The precept in reverse may perhaps be true of societies gifted with robust honesty of their citizens. But those like Pakistan's which are heir to such misfortunes as repressive foreign domination, internal chaos and widespread poverty, where honesty has become a scarce commodity, as has good government, has to do perpetual overtime.

The concept becomes a casualty when the country's constitutions are scrapped with impunity with usurping regimes instituting modes of norms suited to particular sections of community. Not only do such beneficiaries tend to lose faith in high morals, those denied favours are also given to biding their time for a windfall, denting their values in the process. This has been an on-going process in Pakistan, the cumulative effect of which on society's morals has been devastating. At the end a stage has come when to remain honest is considered foolish. Everybody is led willy-nilly to be dishonest.

Poverty

Then, there is a difference between the individual and the communal approach to social values. Though poverty is no respecter of civic virtues, yet even the fortunate well-to-do have outmoded appreciation of these, among which of particular mention is cleanliness. One finds what an individual is often concerned in getting his residence cleaned is to have all the dirt and refuse swept from inside the dwelling and dumped outside on the footpath, street or any nearby place whose stench daily assails his nostrils whenever he passes by the lace till the weekly refuse van clears the refuse away. The process is unending. Pakistani society suffers from a convoluted notion of communal living.

The values of the joint family system are fast vanishing pressed as they are by demands of urban economy. Its virtues were never rated highly, except for the lone merit of economic safeguard it provided to an extended family

particularly to the elderly. It had withstood the onslaught of time rather well till the arrival of modern urban family, with its restricted living space, limited dependents, tight budget, and highly impersonal approach to living. With money the great arbiter of fate in life, its excessive love has characterised all aspects of metropolitan society, so much so that even the closest of family relationships haven't escaped its embrace and have often suffered in consequence. Also, the tension of modern, urban living has taken its toll by a number of sound moral values, chief among them being compassion, altruism, kindness, friendliness and love.

Pakistan's urban society, being new and weakened by factors described earlier, has had a ruinous attack a decade ago of, what has since been described as, 'kalashnikov and drug culture,' both gifts from ten-years of Russia war in neighbouring Afghanistan.

It had made for a wide and easy availability of deadly weapons as well as drugs. The rapid growth in trafficking, indigenous drug addiction and its social fallout of human debasement and horrid crime, has now become an acute national as well as international problem. The easy access to arms for both the criminals and political activists has worked havoc in Pakistan. Mass murder, bombing, senseless killing, kidnapping either for political or monetary gain and dacoities have not only affected national peace severely but the reputation of governments as well. Consequently, values such as respect for human life, have been a fatal casualty.

In the pervading gloom of its much attritioned moral and social values, the Pakistani society is out on a limb. But much can be salvaged if there is a concerted search for the ideal good. Of course, human life cannot be made a matter of unalloyed bliss, and to allow oneself excessive hope is to court disappointment. Nevertheless what can be soberly hoped is considerable. The moral ideology of Islam together with science could confer two benefits yet again—they can diminish bad things and can increase good things.

Cut in Education Assailed

92AS0134H Karachi DAWN in English 1 Oct 91 p 9

[Text] The federal government's move to curtail the grant it was giving to the provinces for the education sector comes as a rude shock. The cut is bound to affect the development of education. The argument advanced by Islamabad is that the provinces are now receiving more funds than before as a result of the National Finance Commission's award. Few would accept this as justifiable ground for slashing the none-too-princely allocations that were made available for the education sector. Given the backlog of illiteracy as well as the low school enrolment rate, the poor teacher-pupil ratio, the immense pressure on educational institutions and the appalling academic standards of the existing schools and colleges, one would find it difficult to logically accept any reduction in allocations.

Although the details of the federal grants to be slashed—said to be by 55 percent—are not known, any reduction is bound to affect the prospects of an already resource-starved sector. As it is, Pakistan's spending on education is quite measly. What is more, the allocations have been falling in terms of percentage of the GNP [gross national product] and also in absolute terms. In 1989-90, education received only 2.2 percent of the GNP when it had been allocated 2.4 percent the previous year. The development budget for education (Centre and provinces) has actually fallen by 15 percent this year.

Seen against this backdrop, any further cuts can only be crippling. We do not know what the new education policy will decree for the future. But without adequate funds from the government, only two very obvious results can be expected. One, the public sector institutions will continue to stagnate and deteriorate in every conceivable way. Two, private schools, colleges and universities that will come up to fill the widening gaps will become more and more expensive and beyond the reach of the common citizens.

It is time the government opened its eyes to the appalling situation in the education sector. The immediate need, of course, is a firmer commitment to education, without which no government can hope to make a success of its programme for human development. This unfortunately is lacking in all centres of decision-making. Had it not been so, education would not have been so low in the successive governments' order of priorities. Once the government is convinced that an educated populace is basic to the development and prosperity of the country, it should have no difficulty in mobilising funds for educational expansion and improvement. The private sector can do no better than pitch in to play a complementary role.

Educational Aid to Provinces Cut

92AS0040F Karachi DAWN in English 24 Sep 91 p 3

[Text] Karachi, 23 September: The Federal Government has curtailed financial assistance to the provinces in the education sector by 55 percent because of allocation of sufficient funds to them by the Federal National Commission.

This was stated by Federal Education Secretary, Mazharul Haq Siddiqui, while talking to newsmen informally at the Civic Centre on Monday.

He said the cut by the Federal Government would not affect the education development plans of the four provinces which had allocated sufficient funds for the purpose.

He said Balochistan Government had earmarked 80 percent and Sindh and NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Government, 37 percent each for the development in education sector.

The Punjab government, however, he said, had allocated 7 percent. He did not give any reason for short allocation of funds. But he maintained the province could arrange more funds according to its needs.

Speaking about the education policy of the government, he said, no decision had been taken yet. A report would be submitted to the Cabinet which would take a final decision in the matter, he pointed out. About the working papers prepared by the ministry, he said the process continued since he was a vice-chancellor.

However, he said the primary education would be given due importance as well as the college education.

He, however, avoided giving a categorical reply to queries about the recommendations made for the education policy. He said no final reply could be given about the matter unless the Cabinet reviewed and okayed it, he maintained.

True Reform of Police Force Urged

92AS0002F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
19 Sep 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Reforming the Police"]

[Text] For several months now, we have been told that the government is working on a major reform of the police. Although the long-term measures to improve the working of the police have yet to surface, some aspects of an apparent 31-point short-term action plan have recently come to light. These reportedly include better incentives for policemen, e.g., free schooling for their children and free health cover for their families. Providing policemen with better welfare is an important measure but forms only a fraction of what has to be done to improve police efficiency. Many other aspects also need reform. The system of recruitment needs to be upgraded with higher educational standards set. Police training, which is outdated, must be modernised, so also its weaponry and equipment. Police methods of investigation need to be thoroughly revamped. Forty-four years into independence and our police is still relying on torture and threats to secure evidence rather than advanced scientific techniques of investigation. Investigation officers (known in the West as detectives) should be specialists in criminology.

A genuine reform of the police system ought to comprise two key strategies, viz, wiping out all colonial vestiges inherent in our police force and professionalisation. The first involves transforming the police from a force for quelling political and social unrest into one for the protection of the life and property of the common man. The second necessitates turning the police from being a tool of politicians and administrators into a fully professional law-enforcing institution. Political and bureaucratic interference in the running of the police department is one of the major causes of ills in our police system.

Execution of the above strategies requires implementation of one major revolutionary reform, i.e., separation of the police from the administration. The present system, whereby the Deputy Commissioner enjoys both the powers of a police commissioner and a magistrate, is highly colonial and does not serve the purpose of a modern day democratic society. Talk about the introduction of the police commissionerate system has been longstanding. The spirit behind it is the transfer of all powers of controlling law and order now being enjoyed by the Deputy Commissioner to the police commissioner. To ensure just and proper execution of justice,

the judiciary should at the same time also be separated from the administration. The bureaucrats, who do not want their powers diminished, have always opposed such a reform. Indeed, according to an unconfirmed report in late July, "influential bureaucrats" have again shot down this proposal.

What the country needs is genuine police reforms and not politically expedient stop-gap measures meant only to temporarily stem public outcry against the police system. The government's police reform plan will be a major test of its sincerity to the people.

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